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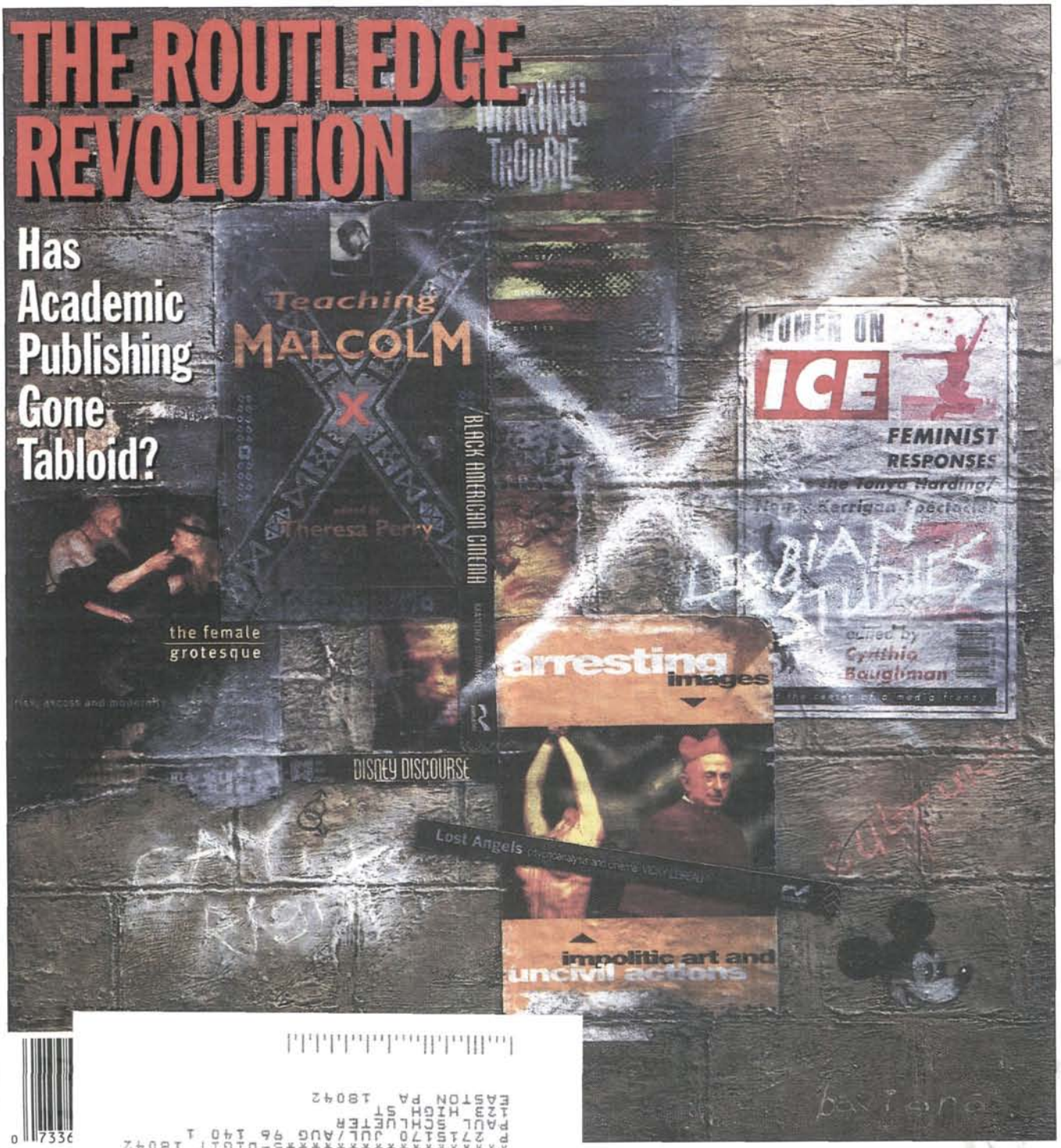

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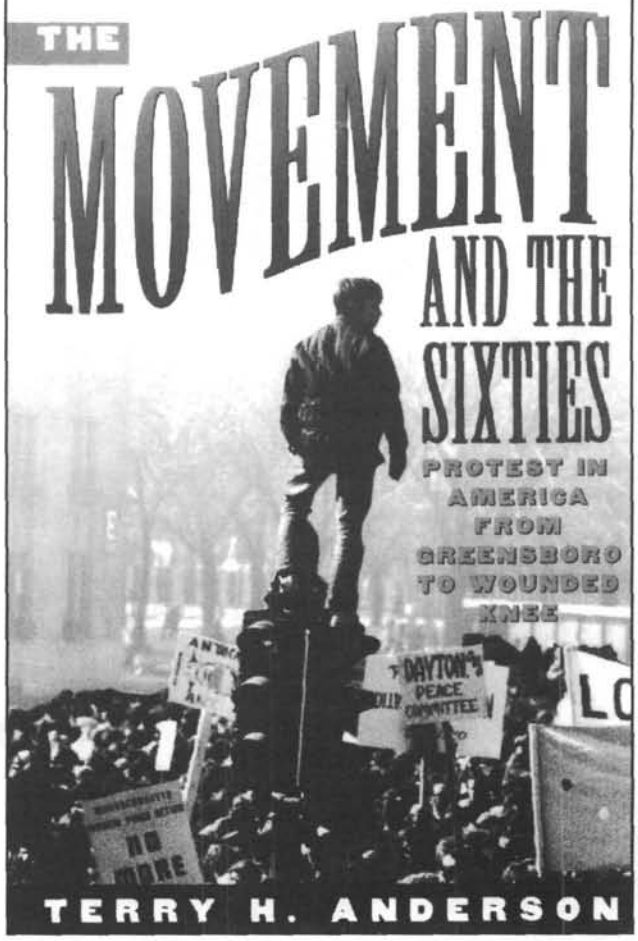

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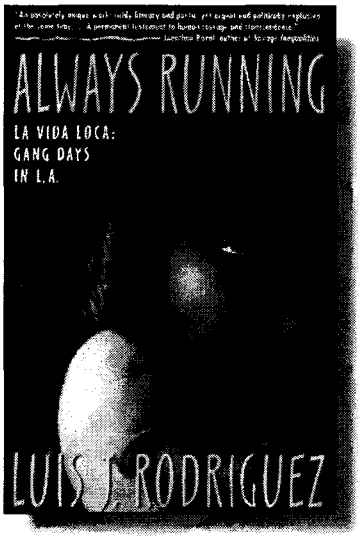

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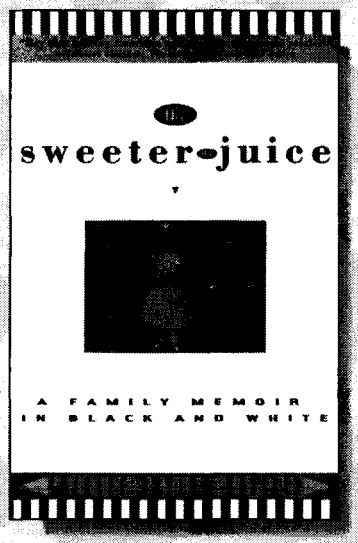

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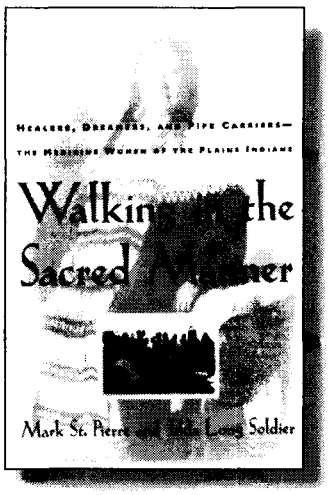

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Letters to the *Editor*

TAKING EXCEPTION

David Samuels's article on Newt Gingrich and his theories of history has many merits, but it does bring out the pedant in me ["Tinkers, Dreamers & Madmen," January/February]. Samuels's distinction between "American exceptionalism" and "dogma derived from Marxist faith" overlooks an inconvenient fact: American exceptionalism is itself derived from the Marxist faith. The phrase derives from Bukharin's "general theory of exceptionalism," which was conceived in response to Stalin's notion of a centralized world Communist movement, obedient to the Soviet headquarters. The particular idea of "American exceptionalism" was developed by Bukharin's American followers, the circle around Jay Lovestone and his organization, the Communist Party (Majority Opposition) in the 1930s. In its original form, American exceptionalism meant that the class struggle in the United States was not likely to follow the same course as the class struggle in Russia and other countries, and that American workers would have to arrive at their version of socialism in their own peculiar fashion.

It is true that Lovestone and his circle ended up as the foreign policy wing of the AFL-CIO, not inconceivably with CIA cooperation, and that Lovestoneite politics—the politics that derived from the theory of "American exceptionalism"—ended up as an enthusiastic and sometimes undercover advancement of the foreign policy goals of Cold War America. Many a person devoted to "dogma derived from the Marxist faith," in Samuels's phrase, might not be happy about that. But as everyone has noticed by now, Marxism's consequences have never been what they were expected to be.

Paul Berman, ***New York City***

INTIMATE DISGUST

Colin McGinn maintains that "there is . . . much intimate disgust in [Sir Kenneth] Dover's life story, as well as a deep love of learning, justice, and beauty—the two affective poles being more closely intertwined than people are prepared to admit" ["A Don's Confession," January/February 1995]. But I guess I'm bourgeois enough to think that anyone who, by his own unrepentant admission, "had no qualms about causing the death of a fellow from whose nonexistence the college would benefit" is scum, pure and simple.

If scheming to cause the death of a troublesome colleague is not enough to place someone beyond the pale in British academic life, what on earth would be? Slovenly table manners, maybe? Dropped aitches?

Felicia Ackerman, ***Professor of Philosophy, Brown University***

BRIGHT FLIGHT

I thought that Alan Wolfe's review of Christopher Lasch's posthumous book *The Revolt of the Elites* illustrated the central point of Lasch's book ["What Cognitive Elite?" January/February]. Rather than evaluate Lasch's argument, Wolfe used guilt by association to attach it to the notorious *Bell Curve,* when, so far as I can tell, the two books absolutely oppose one another. Wolfe says that Herrnstein and Murray "argue" that those who score poorly on I.Q. tests "cannot" advance while Lasch "suggests" that they "should not." In fact, Wolfe infers what Lasch neither argues nor suggests, for Lasch's complaint is not with excellence, but with the fact that elites make so much more money than the rest of the middle class and, more important, that

continued on page 75

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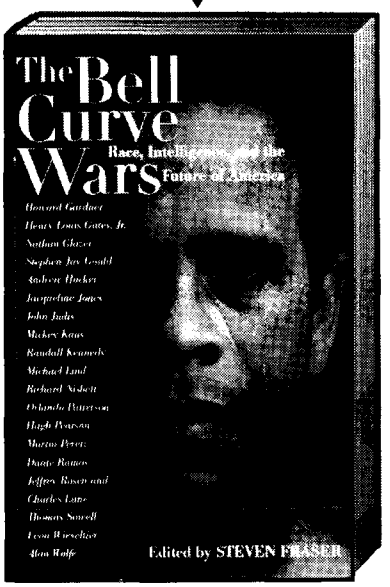

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Field *Notes*

JUST ASK

LIKE MUCH OF THE MODERN academy, university public relations departments are scrambling to redefine themselves for the information age. No longer content to publish chipper brochures, academic P.R. flacks nowadays act like talent agents, hawking campus experts to the press. This courtship between the university and the mass media has recently migrated to cyberspace, where a single bulk e-mail does the work of a thousand phone calls.

At the forefront of this movement is Profnet, the on-line information cooperative that links journalists with universities around the world, allowing reporters to collect academic sound-bites without relying on hit-or-miss calls to the local college switchboard.

Here's how it works: A source-hungry reporter sends an information request to Profnet's Internet address at SUNY Stony Brook (profnet@sunysb.edu). Within hours, Profnet "mails" the query to 1,600 public information officers (PIOs) at universities and research institutes in seventeen countries. The PIOs read the Profnet request, then rush to find a professor on campus with a matching interest. Within hours, a panel of experts may be conjured out of the thin air of cyberspace. Voilà—instant pundits!

Funded by SUNY Stony Brook since its outset in 1993, Profnet recently moved off campus into the home of Daniel Forbush—Profnet's founding father, sysop, and all-around evangelist—becoming financially independent in the process. As a result, Profnet subscribers must now pay annual dues based on institution size—from $150 to $600—to receive a daily batch of about forty queries; thus far, 400 of the 650 members have agreed to play by the new rules, and Forbush expects more to sign on soon.

So what kinds of questions are being asked of our professoriat? Judging from a sample batch of queries, most are serious-minded: National Public Radio needs an authority on Algerian history to discuss the impact of a political assassination; *The Detroit News* is looking for scientists who will comment on their profession's hostility to religion; a morbid ABC News researcher is collecting names of media-friendly Sinologists he can call when Deng Xiaoping dies. Other outlets take a more tongue-in-cheek approach, luring professors into providing amusingly nerdy commentary on matters like *Should depressed pets take Prozac?* and *What are the health benefits of juggling?*

One of Profnet's selling points is its promise to decentralize expertise. Since Profnet makes finding far-flung sources so easy, the service has become a boon for small schools trying to hit the big-time media. When *New York Times* reporter William Celis heard that the University of Texas, Austin, had lured an important research lab away from Yale, he sent out a Profnet request asking if any smaller institutions were up to the same game. Southwest Texas State University PIO Mark Hendricks jumped at the

HETERODOXY DOES HOLLYWOOD

WHEN WE LAST HEARD FROM DAVID HOROWITZ, HE WAS EDITING THE ACADEMY-BASHING journal *Heterodoxy* and carrying on like the Original Gangsta of the New Right, the O.G. of anti-P.C. But now the onetime Sixties radical has his sights set on even more morally blighted pastures: Tinseltown. In June, Horowitz will rally Hollywood conservatives with a gala banquet, and he's lined up Prof. Newt Gingrich as the guest of honor. Arnold Schwarzenegger has RSVP'd. So have Kevin Costner and Delta Burke. And Cheryl Tiegs (*her* first gig in a while).

So how did Mr. Gingrich go to Hollywood? Horowitz first befriended the congressman after Gingrich expressed admiration for his and Peter Collier's 1989 scorched-earth book on the Sixties, *Destructive Generation*. And after November's elections, Horowitz approached Gingrich's press secretary, Tony Blankley, with an idea: Why shouldn't the new Speaker, like President Clinton before him, court entertainment-industry fellow travelers? Blankley—a former child actor who worked alongside Humphrey Bogart in *The Harder They Fall*—agreed. Plans for the dinner were set in motion; and Schwarzenegger dropped in on Gingrich, whom he called "our leader," to chat about the program.

Not surprisingly, Horowitz is thrilled by the response to his ideological dinner party. "Hollywood is moving like crazy," he gushed in a recent interview with *The International Herald Tribune*. "The liberals are fed up with Clinton. Clinton is over. We'll do Power Rangers. We'll have Newt. It's a way of saying, 'This is the new Establishment. This is the new world.' "

Still, for all the optimism, a hint of Sixties-style paranoia lingers in Horowitz's voice. Gingrich's ascent, he says, is a "breakthrough for a persecuted group of people who've been driven underground." At last, like ex-Weathermen, they're emerging from their bunkers. And they're heading straight for Spago. —*Rick Perlstein*

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opportunity—his school had just beat out Columbia for a cancer research center—and landed a mention on the front page of the Great Gray Lady. ("Above the fold," Hendricks adds.)

Hendricks and other PIOs say they have no problem getting professors to cooperate with Profnet. After all, scholars love to hear that someone out there actually *cares* about their research. And when it comes to feeling important, the longest vita can't compete with a couple of sentences in *The Wall Street Journal*—or even *The Hartford Courant*, which got SUNY Buffalo architecture instructor Ian Taberner to pontificate on the cultural significance of plastic lawn furniture. (His thoughts: "When I think of how the chairs speak to us, I think they speak of how mobile we are. All furniture is a lot lighter in weight now.")

Academic P.R. flacks have become high-tech talent agents, hawking campus experts to the press.

The most intriguing thing about Profnet's success, however, may be what it suggests for the future of university public relations. Forbush speculates that P.R. officials "will be much more involved in information brokering. The traditional role of P.R. people is to polish the image of the university. That will still be important, but there may be a greater focus on the P.R. office's role in information transfer." In Forbush's hypothetical model, P.R. departments will become revenue-generators for their institutions, meter maids on the info highway, selling their school's accumulated brain power for a small fee.

Institutions struggling through budget crises may be immediately attracted to this "info brokering," but the rest of us might be a little unnerved at the prospect of the university transformed into a kind of Home Shopping Network for media consumers. For now, though, Profnet has only strengthened the bond—or the codependency, depending on your perspective—between higher education and the media.

—*Steven Johnson*

STOP THE PRESSES!

IMAGINE YOU'RE THE co-editor of an obscure academic journal. With the help of an aggressive new publisher, you're hoping to blow the dust off your stodgy publication and bring it into the scholarly vanguard. To this end, you solicit a superstar theorist, who—thrillingly—agrees to be interviewed for the premier issue of the revamped journal. You couldn't ask for better luck, right?

This academic fantasy came true for Notre Dame English professor Greg Kucich, who found himself lined up with postcolonialist Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak for the relaunch of the interdisciplinary publication *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*. The jazzed-up journal, which debuted last September with a special "Colonialisms" issue, was hailed by readers, many of whom particularly enjoyed the Spivak interview—an interrogation of the editors' stated mission to "advance new readings of nineteenth-century culture that explore its continuing impact on contemporary geopolitical developments." Subscriptions quickly rose by more than a third, pleasing new publishers Gordon and Breach.

Unfortunately, not everyone was pleased. Indeed, the journal's good fortune proved an ironic coda to what had become a "major disaster" for Spivak, the Avalon Foundation Professor in the Humanities at Columbia University. According to Spivak, the journal's new editors broke a cardinal rule of academic publishing—making sure that the author "signs off," giving complete approval of the manuscript. To prevent what she felt were "serious misrepresentations" from blemishing her name, Spivak spent no less than $5,600 of her own money to destroy an entire print run of the journal. She then incorporated her desired changes into a second printing, which showed no signs of battle scars.

How did this editorial debacle come about? The interview, with Kucich's Notre Dame colleague Gloria-Jean Masciarotte, took place in New York City in August 1993, and was by both accounts an amiable encounter. But what followed was a dizzying series

Gayatri Spivak

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of botched communications. First, Spivak lost her copy of the interview transcript. Then, though the editors tried to mail several galley proofs to Spivak, somehow, none of them ever reached her hands. Early in March 1994, she wrote to Kucich asking what had happened, warning that she had "absolutely no intention of publishing an interview I have not edited."

Another set of proofs was sent out immediately, with a request that she return them within forty-eight hours. Unfortunately, Spivak failed to respond, and although the journal's print date was rapidly approaching, Kucich sent no SOS. Misreading her silence as tacit approval, the editors shipped the proofs off to the printers. Spivak's final corrections arrived three weeks later.

While Kucich feels badly about having "caused a lot of grief," he doesn't think he exercised bad judgment in the matter. He says that he "bent over backward" to accommodate Spivak and her misplacement of documents. Further, he offered Spivak the option of publishing her corrections in the journal's next issue. Overall, though, Kucich relies on the bureaucratic dogma of his publishers. He cites the warning that appears on Gordon and Breach stationery: Galleys not returned within "forty-eight hours of receipt" may be "printed as in proof, without author's corrections." Anyway, he notes, "Gordon and Breach policy states that, with interviews, it is the interviewer *only* who makes corrections." Therefore, he reasons, "letting Spivak see the proofs was a courtesy."

Spivak, for her part, feels "outraged" at what she considers the editors' lack of respect for contributors' rights. She's never received an apology, she says, only "holier-than-thou" explanations. In her view, the unapproved edit warped her ideas. In one case, she recalls, "it looked as though I thought that postcolonial discourse studies were 'futile.'"

Looking back, Spivak considers her five grand well spent. In this contentious time of identity politics, she says, her words are "watched with an eagle eye" by her critics, and she therefore had no choice but to seize control. "I have a modest reputation, but I value it," she says in conclusion. Considering all that's happened, Spivak must be especially grateful for her well-endowed chair. How else could she afford to pay the price of academic fame? —*Daniel Zalewski*

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Surely, one of the more unlikely candidates to catch the notice of the option-takers in Hollywood is Brandeis history professor David Hackett Fischer. His next-to-last book, *Albion's Seed,* is a 946-page scholarly inventory of British folkways in America; much discussed in the profession, it was in every other respect remainder fodder. But with his last book, *Paul Revere's Ride,* Fischer suddenly found himself the object of a weeklong bidding war between United Artists and Paramount, with the latter winning out for a cool half-million dollars and signing on the professor as a consultant to a projected Hollywood blockbuster.

So what attracted the movie moguls to this scholarly study published by Oxford University Press? According to Fischer's description to one reporter, the central lesson of the book is that Revere was only one of some sixty riders who spread the word of the British attack. "The paradox of collective action in the cause of freedom was the thing that struck me," Fischer said. "It's a rare effort, and it's been missing from our current political landscape."

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know about Paul Revere is actually quite different than what actually happened," said producer Jonathan Zimbert in explaining the purchase: "He was in the center of all of the action. He was involved in all of the deeds that led to war." According to several newspaper reports, moreover, a real selling point was the book's speculation that the American wife of aristocrat Gen. Thomas Gage was the "deep throat" who told Revere that the British were coming.

But what the movie producers liked best was the return of narrative history, of storytelling. "It's a real page-turner," said Zimbert.

We're wondering if Zimbert ever read what a prominent historian once said about the "unsatisfactory" nature of schools of historical epistemology "organized around the central idea that to write history is to tell a story." "This," the scholar went on, "is partly true for some historians, but entirely false for others, and insufficient for all." The very same David Hackett Fischer wrote that in a book called *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought*. But that was a quarter of a century ago, and where's the fallacy in taking Paramount for a ride? —*R.J. Lambrose*

TRASH TALK

As any underfed grad student will tell you, a panel discussion featuring free food and libation is a panel discussion worth attending. What sounds better after an academic talk than the crunch of crudités?

The snap of the pull-tab on a can of Spam, that's what. At least that was the decidedly déclassé bill of fare that lured scholars into the Berkeley American Studies Working Group's panel "White Trash: Representing Lower-Class Whites in America," last October. And if that's not nourishment enough, in July, the University of North Carolina Press will release *Hillbillyland*, a thickly-illustrated study of seventy years of Hollywood hicks.

Academia is jumping on the white-trash wagon. The time (and the smell) is ripe. Though the phrase "white trash" dates back to the time of slavery, and the stereotype was a staple in American fiction long before William Faulkner immortalized the hapless Snopes family, the Nineties have witnessed an unexpected explosion of trash talk. The Nexis database records 11 uses in 1982, 146 in 1990, and 996 in 1994. Charles Murray launched his post–*Losing*

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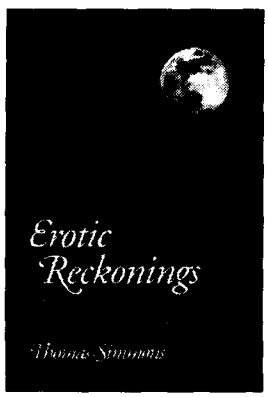

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Ground comeback with a 1986 *National Review* article entitled "White Welfare, White Families, 'White Trash.'" And in August, *New York* magazine sported a cover feature arguing that the simultaneous eruption into popular consciousness of Tonya Harding, trash-glamour supermodel Anna-Nicole Smith, and our one-generation-removed-from-trash President portended the downfall of the republic.

Much of the new work on white trash expands on a trusty cultural studies theme: how the dominant group projects its own cultural anxieties (like incest or downward mobility) onto an imagined Other. "'White trash' is a form of white-on-white naming," says John Hartigan, author of a *Visual Anthropology Review* essay on the film *Deliverance,* and a Smithsonian fellow who's finishing up a study of whites in Detroit. Since poor whites don't fit the scenario of how whites are supposed to be, "they have to be marked off as racial detritus—the trash of whiteness." The irony is that what poor whites are supposed to have traditionally done to blacks, white elites are doing to poor whites.

As American fortunes teeter, the trashologists argue, an anxious middle class is, as one of them states, "inventing a new stereotype of a dangerous minority." Whites are being criminalized in the media as never before. "The Rodney King video was a landmark in the representation of white people as criminally violent and out of control," notes Berkeley grad student Annalee Newitz, who, with Matt Wray, organized the Berkeley panel. And in popular culture, white trash are the scapegoats du jour. "People who would never *dream* of making a racial epithet would make fun of people at Kmart," notes Jeff Akeley, another Berkeley panelist, who claims

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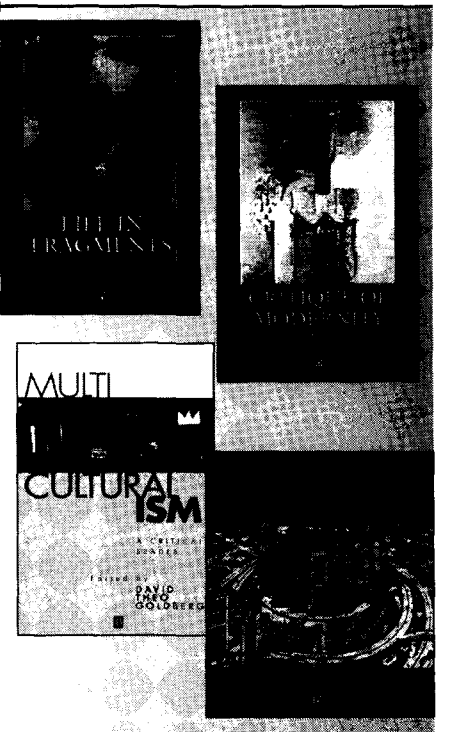

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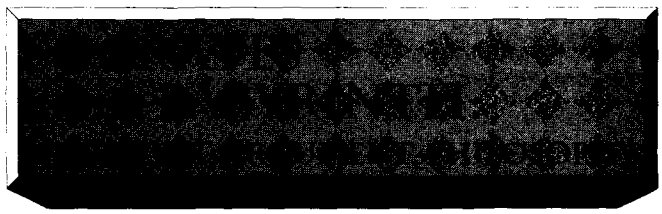
trash origins himself and thinks the lapse in sensitivity stems from Americans' deeply rooted aversion to issues of class.

Of course, the trailer-home mystique isn't only dreaded; sometimes, it's courted. Novelists like Dorothy Allison proudly claim the white-trash label, while movies like *Kalifornia* and *True Romance* glamorize the rough-and-tumble rebel. Skeptics might also wonder if the current wave of trashophobia is anything new. Nicky Hahn, a Northeastern University sociologist, edited a 1988 collection of turn-of-the-century eugenics texts and titled it *White Trash.* She was surprised to find in her research that the main object of eugenicists' scorn was not so much immigrants, or African-Americans, but poor rural whites, who were seen as "uniformly feeble and criminalistic."

What's most intriguing about the Berkeley bubbaphiles is how they unsettle the multicultural enthusiasm for marginality. Newitz explains: "White-trash identity presents a challenge to identity politics as we know it now, because traditionally identity politics has been understood as the politics of oppressed minority groups against white people." Now the label, like "queer," is being proudly—if anxiously—adopted. "And," as Newitz points out, "the extent to which white people can now claim for themselves a kind of marginal status calls into question how valuable it *is* to claim marginalized status. A politics of white liberation is dangerous. But no more dangerous than a politics of specifically black, or specifically Asian, identity." In other words, white trash could be the identity politics that ends identity politics.

So is the academic establishment ready to park pickup trucks next to their unbearably ugly Volvos? The signals are mixed. When John Hardigan was turned down the first time he applied for his Smithsonian fellowship, a member of the committee discreetly gave word that "people get very nervous when they hear this term 'white trash.' " Hardigan struck the offending phrase from his (successful) reapplication. But he'd hardly unpacked his suitcase at the august institution before his colleagues began enthusiastically bombarding him with relevant materials for his files—including nineteenth-century soap ads hinting ominously that folks who don't lather up might be mistaken for hillbillies. —*Rick Perlstein*



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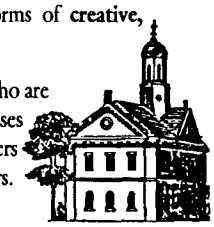

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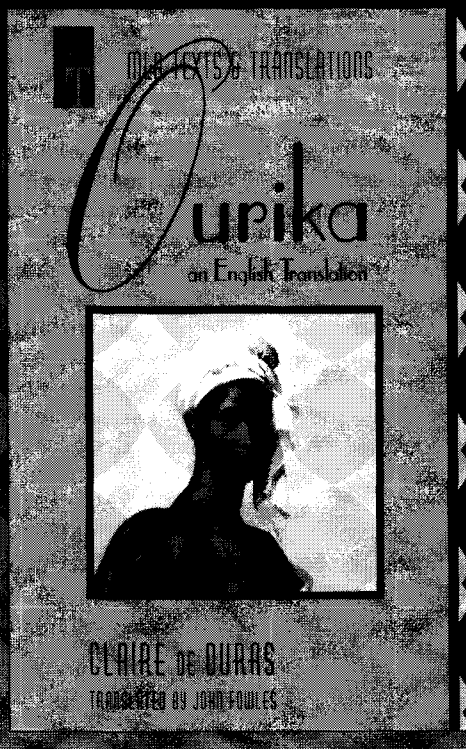

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BREAKTHROUGH BOOKS EMOTIONS

Scholars in a wide range of disciplines are studying the emotions. Literary critic Patricia Meyer Spacks has written a book on boredom; historian Theodore Zeldin, an "intimate history of humanity." We asked several writers to tell us of other recent efforts to map the affective landscape.

Thomas Laqueur, professor of history at UC-Berkeley and author of *Making Sex* (Harvard, 1990).

The Book of Memory by **Mary Carruthers** (Cambridge, 1990).

Carruthers's book examines the medieval scholars who labored to memorize lengthy texts. Laqueur notes that those who practiced this art "may seem like complete bores who just crammed theology, but they did it by tagging parts of the text with emotionally significant markers—feelings, passions, or funny things. They understood that the words and pictures you really remember are the ones that have some oomph, and that reading is meant to be an emotionally charged activity. Their view of memorization was active and incorporative: What you read becomes part of you, attached to the pleasant feeling of reading it." Today, however, memory is usually thought of as merely a "logical function." In other words, it's become a clinical business, separated from idiosyncrasy and feeling.

Jerome Kagan, professor of psychology at Harvard University and author of *Galen's Prophecy* (Basic Books, 1994).

Emotions: The Major Controversies edited by **Paul Ekman** and **Richard Davidson** (Oxford, 1994).

"To a large degree," says Kagan, "history determines what emotion you're going to study. If this book had been written in ancient Greece, it would have been about awe; in the sixteenth century, piety; and in 1910, when Freudian theory was dominant, the major debates would all have been about sexuality. In this book, I don't think sexuality is mentioned more than twice. Power, anger, fear, sadness, joy, surprise, and disgust—these are the emotions that concern the authors."

In tackling those emotions, Kagan adds, the authors ask "the big questions: What is an emotion? Are some emotions basic and others secondary? Do they serve an adaptive evolutionary function? And what's the difference between moods and temperaments?"

Ronald de Sousa, professor of philosophy at the University of Toronto and author of *The Rationality of Emotion* (MIT, 1987).

Humiliation by **William Miller** (Cornell, 1993).

"This book is a fascinating look at the role that the darker emotions play in social life. The title essay reveals Miller's astonishing streak of paranoia, a lawyer's lifelong obsessive fear of being humiliated. And Miller also discusses the phenomenon that he refers to as 'upward contempt'—contempt for people of higher social standing. This displacement of classic contempt, which Miller claims is no longer acceptable, is to him one of the twentieth century's most important developments."

Martha C. Nussbaum, professor of philosophy, classics, and comparative literature at Brown and author of *The Therapy of Desire: Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics* (Princeton, 1994).

Nussbaum believes that all inquiries into the emotions should start with Seneca and proceed only with caution. Still, she recommends **Richard Lazarus**'s ***Emotion and Adaptation*** (Oxford, 1991), "which very clearly states the case against behaviorism. By defining emotions solely in terms of observable responses to stimuli, behaviorism failed to account for the very mentality of emotion, for the subjective experience of it." Carrying Lazarus's project even further is his student **Andrew Ortony,** who has written ***The Cognitive Structure of Emotions*** (Cambridge, 1988) with **Gerald Clore** and **Allan Collins**. This ambitious effort, Nussbaum says, "gives a very precise taxonomy of emotions, classifying them into major groups and discussing how they're defined in relation to each other."

Adam Phillips, psychoanalyst, author of *On Kissing, Tickling, and Being Bored* (Harvard, 1993).

Passions of the Mind by **Harold Boris** (NYU Press, 1995).

"Boris, an idiosyncratic psychoanalyst from Boston, is concerned with the ways in which people process their emotional life: How much of it are they capable of thinking about and through? In this book, he explores how we unconsciously sabotage certain feelings in ourselves. Let's say, for example, my dependence on my mother is painful. Rather than acknowledge that fact, I might prefer to say I don't have any feelings at all. So Boris's book is also about the ways we have of *not* feeling things."

—*Ariel Kaminer*

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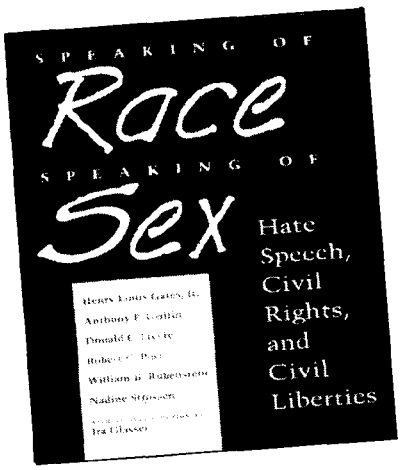

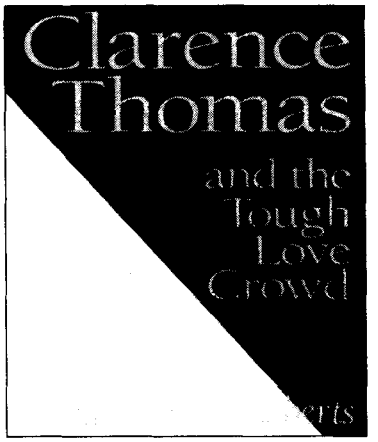

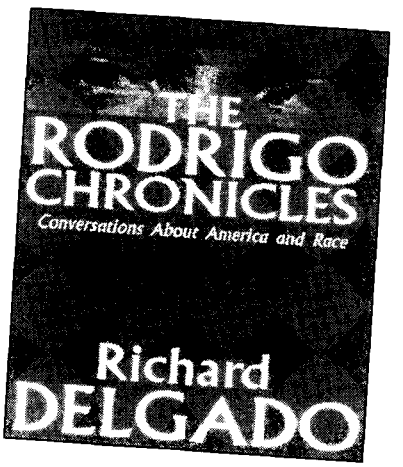

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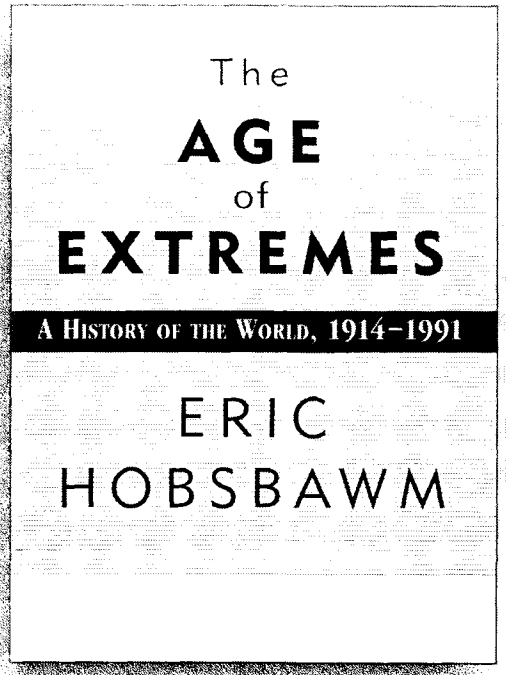

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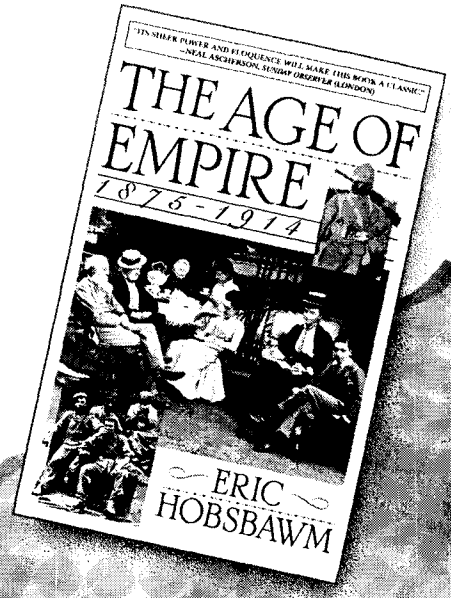

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Inside *Publishing*

THE GOD THAT SAILED

It's a quintessential historian's whodunit. It's also, says Berkeley's Stephen Greenblatt, "a struggle for the soul of anthropology." On January 17, 1779, Captain James Cook and crew, after a frustrating nine months spent combing the North American coast for the fabled Northwest Passage, returned for provisions to the island they had discovered the year before—Hawaii. A month later, Cook turned up missing—until the Hawaiians turned his bones over to the crew. How and why Cook died remains a mystery.

In a series of publications in the 1980s, University of Chicago anthropologist Marshall Sahlins argued that Cook was killed in an epic cosmological accident. But Princeton anthropologist Gananath Obeyesekere thinks Sahlins got it all wrong, and said so in his 1992 book, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton). Now, Sahlins has set out to put Obeyesekere straight in *How "Natives" Think: About Captain Cook, for Example,* due out from Chicago in April.

If it were only a matter of figuring out who has the facts right, things would be dramatic enough. But it's the heat of the theoretical issues involved, notes one anthropologist who knows both men well, that makes this "much more than a pissing match." Sahlins and Obeyesekere are presenting radically opposed briefs about how we can, from compromised sources, conjure up cultural worlds different from our own. And in our age of vertigo about who speaks for whom and how, Greenblatt notes, "the stakes of this argument are very high."

Here's Sahlins's story: On their original approach to Hawaii, Cook's two ships coincidentally traced the same path that the local fertility god Lono supposedly followed during Makahiki, his annual rite of regeneration. Cook, the Hawaiians believed, was Lono—returning right on schedule. But when Cook returned to the island the next year, he did so thirteen days *after* Makahiki, during the reign of Lono's rival god, Ku. This was a big mistake. When Lono waded ashore unseasonally, he knocked the cosmic order frightfully out of whack—so, in a fit of improvised ritual, the avatars of the god Ku had him, well, whacked.

Poppycock, says Obeyesekere. When he heard Sahlins present this version of events in a Princeton lecture, Obeyesekere took umbrage at what he saw as an embarrassing reproduction of a colonialist libel: that overawed, myth-addled "natives" invariably take Europeans for gods. "I tended to identify with the Hawaiians as a kind of outsider group," Obeyesekere, a Sri Lankan, explains. "I was almost humiliated, you see, by that kind of thing." So humiliated, in fact, that the lifelong South Asianist did something extraordinary: He took on an entirely new ethnographic specialty, in order to take on a dean of the discipline on his home turf.

Obeyesekere went back to the primary sources and found a Captain Cook who was killed not because he was in the right place at the wrong time, but because, Kurtz-like, he had descended into wanton brutality toward the Hawaiians. To make this argument, Obeyesekere painstakingly reconstructed an alternate interpretation of the events leading to the explorer's death: Cook was installed as a chief, not a god, and only because the pragmatic Hawaiians wished to enlist him as an ally in their war against their neighbors in Maui. Nothing cosmic about this. In Obeyesekere's telling, it wasn't the Hawaiians who made Cook into a god; it was whites like Sahlins.

"There's something less than meets the ire," Sahlins writes in his response, which was conceived as a pamphlet but soon grew into a 300-page manuscript, complete with seventeen appendices. With the poison-penned wit of one of Cook's eighteenth-century contemporaries, he lights into what he takes to be both an attack on his integrity and a piece of his-

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toriographic hackwork. Sahlins thinks that Obeyesekere has done the Hawaiians a dishonor. Obeyesekere, he says, denigrates their myths and restricts them to a decidedly Eurocentric norm of practical rationality. And besides, in his claim to speak for the natives as a Third World intellectual, Obeyesekere is dragging in historical baggage about the onward march of colonialism that erases the particularity of the encounter between Cook and the Hawaiians.

That's where things get a little sticky between the two—and why the rest of us should pay attention. For when you get beyond the acrimony and the voluminous detail this donnybrook is generating, the two authors are limning in miniature two compelling but structurally opposed visions of how the humanities might throw off their colonial legacy. Does the West do justice to the Rest by emphasizing, as Sahlins does, the mutual misunderstandings between radically different cultural worlds? Or should we, as Obeyesekere does, focus on the fraught power relations between colonizer and colonized? In trying to understand the elusive Other, should we cast aside our standards of rational behavior? Or should we assume that some of those standards apply to all human beings?

Greenblatt, who's had both men speak to his Berkeley graduate seminar on Exploration, Discovery, and the World Outside of Europe, finds the Cook books a rare opportunity to better think through such seemingly irreconcilable differences. "There's been nothing [on the subject] at this sustained level of critique," he says. "I spend a lot of time reading these ferocious exchanges between Protestants and Catholics in the 1600s. In a way, this isn't all that different. Fortunately, we're living in an age in which people are not burning each other at the stake."—*Rick Perlstein*

ESCAPE FROM NEW YORK

For the past several years, occasional notices have appeared announcing the marriage of a novelist to an academic publisher. But it's not only fiction writers who are looking to the universities. More recently, two high-profile New York editors have also posted banns, hoping to find the sort of intellectual community in the collegiate book trade that once marked publishing in Manhattan.

"I have a very different perspective on the canon than other people," says Philip Pochoda, who became editorial director of the University Press of New England last fall. "I dismantled it. Personally." Pochoda was at the helm of Anchor Press, owned by Doubleday, when company accountants insisted that he dump unprofitable titles from the firm's list. "I felt like a war criminal," he says. He also did a stint at Prentice-Hall "that was essentially a nightmare," before heading north to UPNE.

But Pochoda can remember a time before the bottom line loomed so large. His first job in the publishing business was at Pantheon, which was, he says, "the last place to do politically and intellectually serious work"; and he ran Dial Press before Simon & Schuster snuffed it out (it has recently been resurrected).

Now, launching Hardscrabble Books, a new and reprint series of New England fiction, Pochoda is reviving the role of the avuncular editor. Novelist W.D. Wetherell, who lives a few miles from UPNE's Hanover, New Hampshire, offices, was flabbergasted to discover Pochoda on his doorstep one snowy night this past February with a spanking new copy of Wetherell's *The Wisest Man in America* in his hands. In Wetherell's experience, this is not the sort of treatment the trade houses dole out. "To think of the editorial director of Little, Brown even returning one of my phone calls, let alone showing up on my doorstep with a beautiful book...," he muses.

When Stephen A. Cohn, director of publishing operations at Duke University Press, was looking for a new editor in chief, Peter Guzzardi was not the person he had in mind. "[When] we first winnowed the field down to a short list, Peter was not on it," Cohn says. But Guzzardi, then an editor at Harmony Books, persevered. When he first saw the press's ad in *Publishers Weekly*, Guzzardi recalls, "I didn't know much about Duke except that it has a pretty good reputation and it was not in New York City." So he dutifully bought a book on universities and liked what he read under "Duke." He and his family had been looking for an excuse to leave Manhattan, and he had squired works by graduate-degree–holding writers (Stephen Hawking and Deepak Chopra among them) in the past. When the word came that he hadn't made the cut, Guzzardi

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requested the opportunity to meet with the press's staff, including Cohn and director Stanley Fish, on his own tab. How could they say no?

What followed was a whirlwind courtship, says Guzzardi—"Stanley took me out to dinner and the whole thing"—that ended with his getting the job despite some not insubstantial lacunae in his knowledge of academe. Cohn admits, "There is a good bit we will have to teach Peter about our world." For starters: "He doesn't automatically know what a provost is, which surprised us."

"I have a very different perspective on the canon," says Philip Pochoda. "I dismantled it. Personally."

As far as Duke's esoteric list goes, Guzzardi is not daunted. Even the one Duke book that he initially found "unreadable" revealed its secrets when he stumbled onto the ancient academic art of skimming. "And then, all of a sudden, three, four, five pages of reading fast, it started to all come into shape for me." He sheepishly admitted this chain of events to the search committee, he says: "And they all laughed, and they knew exactly [the author] I was talking about—a person who shall remain nameless—and it was great. It was a good moment."

Although academic publishing may seem to offer a quiet refuge to veterans of the trade world, all indications are that university presses are marching back in the direction from which these men have just come, enlarging trade lists and skimping where possible on editing in the name of higher returns. But Pochoda and Guzzardi aren't worried that they will find themselves back in the trenches. Guzzardi says he hopes to pick a few titles that will bring in enough steady money to "ease pressures" at Duke and allow it to focus on its scholarly duties. And Pochoda plans to avoid the immoderate advances and promotional expenses that have made publishing fiction a costly endeavor for presses in the past. Will readers oblige them? Until the book returns start coming back, says Pochoda, "we're in the honeymoon period." —*Jessica Marshall*

A Musical Feast Without A Menu.

Henry Threadgill sometimes compares his music to a restaurant he likes in Amsterdam. There is no menu. The chef asks what you would like to eat. If you say lamb, the chef asks how you see it, what is your vision of the lamb? The process inspires unique creations and the chef never cooks anything the same way twice.

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Inside *Publishing*

PARTING SHOTS

Jay Ruby was quietly studying the "sociocultural functions of photography" in Juniata County, Pennsylvania, when he happened on a collection of photographs of dead folk taken as recently as the late Sixties. Puzzled—this sort of thing was supposed to have expired with the Victorians—he began asking local funeral directors whether they were familiar with the practice. They were.

Ruby, a professor of anthropology at Temple University, decided to chase down further instances of posthumous portraiture, and in *Secure the Shadow: Death and Photography in America,* which will be published by MIT Press this May, he presents his findings, placing them in "the 300-year-old tradition" of the genre. Undaunted by the subject's morbidity, Ruby tackles the question of whether pictures of dead family members constitute mementos or symptoms of pathology.

"There was a terrible period in our society, from about 1920 to about Kübler-Ross, for lack of a better place, where we tried to deny grief," says Ruby. During those years, "this kind of photography went way underground—it didn't stop, it's just people stopped talking about it." And the stigma remains. In assembling his own collection of death images, Ruby found that many people were "delighted" to be unburdened of what they felt were macabre family photographs. And now, he says, "I have people who won't even come to my house because I have such a large collection of this type of photography."

The material gathered in *Secure the Shadow* ranges from familiar if still creepy nineteenth-century shots of mothers cradling their dead child to twentieth-century examples of precisely the same thing. Ruby also discusses photo-embellished tombstones and mourning jewelry (which is making a comeback, he says). Although his own research is necessarily subjective, he has tried to seek out the contemporary authorities: Employees of a photo processing lab assured Ruby that photos of funerals and corpses are just as common as nudie shots taken by middle-class marrieds. And no wonder. A photo of someone in a coffin, Ruby explains, resolves the contradictory demands of grieving—accepting loss and preserving memory.

The continuing, if clandestine, popularity of images of the dead, Ruby concludes, is a sane response to modern culture's insistence on denying ordinary death and repressing grief. —*J.M.*

PHOTO COURTESY IRWIN J. WEINFELD, THE REUBEN CENTER FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN, TOLEDO, OHIO

TAKE BACK THE RIGHTS

Buried somewhere inside the Implementation Act for the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is a provision that's sending a slow shudder through book lists nationwide.

Publishers have long taken advantage of the fact that foreign authors, artists, photographers, and their ilk have tended not to be terribly successful at figuring out the procedures for registering and renewing copyright in the States. Fail to jump through one "hoop" (that's copyright lingo), and your work enters public domain, you poor foreigner, you. All that is about to change. Beginning on January 1, 1996, copyright protection will be restored to all material from World Trade Organization and Bern Convention Member countries.

The upside for U.S. publishers is that the GATT will protect American works overseas. But there's also a downside: Foreign authors, alas, will find themselves better protected in this country. Once a foreign creator or estate claims a copyright, publishers will have one year to destroy their stock of the newly claimed product. This will apply to even the puniest illustration.

Northwestern University Press, which has an extensive list of works in translation, stands to be among the hardest hit by the GATT copyright provisions. Press director Nicholas Weir-Williams says his staff is still assessing the damage: "We've been trying to sit down and work it out—something like a quarter of our European classics list conceivably might have problems." But there's always the chance that the same foreigners who couldn't figure out the ropes the first time around won't manage it the second time either, although perhaps for different reasons. Says Weir-Williams, hopefully: "The likelihood in a lot of these cases is that we won't hear anything.

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I mean, most of the authors are dead—in our European classics series it's almost a requirement for entry."

One title of particular concern to him is Northwestern's new version of Italo Svevo's *Confessions of Zeno*—to be called *Zeno's Conscience* in Dalya Sachs's translation. "We spent about four months last year messing around with this, trying to make sure that the rights were clear, and I suspect the whole thing has just collapsed around our heads," says Weir-Williams with a sigh. There is little to do but sit and wait, and perhaps disconnect the phones. Weir-Williams adds, "It's not incumbent upon us to make a huge search to try and track down a surviving grandson, so I don't intend to do that." —*J.M.*

PARIS-TROIKA

Last November, Princeton University Press started a book series with a mission: To wean Americans from the Parisian thinkers of the Sixties and introduce them to a new generation of French writers who've learned to love, or at least like, liberalism. In its first offering, Princeton has published three books: *The Empire of Fashion* by Gilles Lipovetsky, a Grenoble philosophy teacher; *An Intellectual History of Liberalism* by Pierre Manent, an Ecole des Hautes Etudes philosopher; and *New French Thought*, an anthology of essays in political philosophy edited by Mark Lilla, a professor of politics and French at NYU.

At the heart of the new French thought are philosophers like Luc Ferry and Alain Renaut, who aim to rescue a "modern humanism" from what they consider the wreckage of poststructuralism. In their 1985 manifesto, *French Philosophy of the Sixties*, Ferry and Renaut concede that "it is impossible to return, after Marx, Nietzsche, Freud and Heidegger, to the idea that man is the master and possessor of the totality of his actions and ideas." But they insist that unless we "grant a minimum

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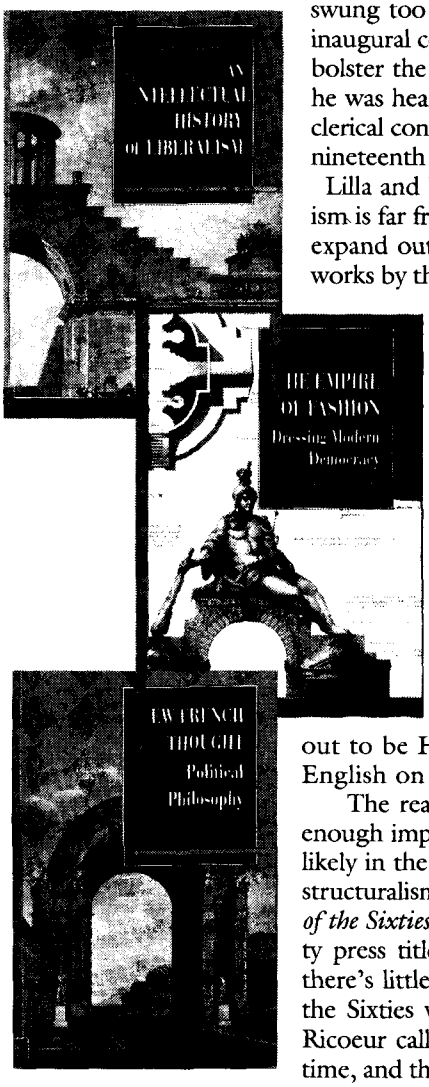
of legitimacy to the subject," all kinds of mischief—human rights abuses, for example—can follow.

The series' editors, Lilla and Thomas Pavel, are themselves participants in the backlash against Sixties intellectual radicalism. Pavel is a Romanian-born polyglot whose book *The Feud of Language* (Blackwell, 1989) accuses the poststructuralists of being shamefully ignorant of basic linguistics. Lilla, author of *G.B Vico: The Making of an Anti-Modern* (Harvard, 1993), says he went into the series "trying to understand the intellectual reaction against reason in our time."

Unlike most university press editors, who receive only drowsy congratulations for their efforts, Lilla and Pavel have come in for some skin-breaking, mostly political, criticism. Awkwardly, one of the series' most trenchant detractors has been the head of the press's editorial board, Princeton philosopher Alexander Nehamas, who believes that the new generation has swung too far away from the excesses of the Sixties into a smug conservatism. At the series' inaugural conference, several audience members suspected Lilla and Pavel of using the series to bolster the American right. Carl Schorske, the retired Princeton historian, declared that what he was hearing sounded less like Luc Ferry than Jules Ferry—the free-market–boosting, anticlerical conservative who organized France's first imperialist ventures into Indochina in the late nineteenth century.



Lilla and Pavel reply that their books represent a range of views, and that the series' liberalism is far from a simpleminded paean to the status quo. In the future, they add, the series will expand out of political philosophy and translate, for instance, books of aesthetic theory and works by the Wittgenstein scholar Jacques Bouveresse (who, in a sign of the times, was recently awarded the Collège de France chair for which Jacques Derrida had lobbied for years).

One genre the series will avoid, however, is the polemical essay, which, in the opinion of the editors, doesn't translate very well. Indeed, translation is an issue both have spent a lot of time thinking about. "In French you approach an argument or a paragraph very differently," says Lilla. "You repeat yourself, you say the same thing in many different ways, and by saying it again and again in different ways, it has a cumulative rhetorical effect. The reader is meant to plunge in and swim through a certain intellectual experience. But the rhetorical structure of the English language doesn't permit that kind of argument, so sometimes you have to throw a sentence out or cut a couple of words or rearrange."

Their effort shows: The series' first three books read as if they were written in English. Of course, this approach risks over-translation—making the works *so* English that they become substantially different books. Lilla says, "It's a risk that we run, but if, fifty years from now, one of these guys turns out to be Hegel, someone will publish the official edition of their work with French and English on facing pages and then people can figure it out for themselves."

The real question, of course, is whether any of the new French thinkers will make a big enough impression on American academe to get anywhere close to that point. It doesn't seem likely in the near future, since French scholarship in this country is so closely attached to poststructuralism. Ferry and Renaut's most successful American publication so far, *French Philosophy of the Sixties* (U. Mass. Press), sold 3,000 copies in paperback—a respectable run for a university press title, but hardly another *Closing of the American Mind*. And Nehamas argues that there's little comparison between the old French thinkers and the new: "The philosophers of the Sixties were influential because they were adversarial thinkers—they practiced what Paul Ricoeur calls the hermeneutics of suspicion. People were very suspicious of the world at the time, and those philosophers gave them the tools to articulate this." He adds: "People are more satisfied with things now, and to that extent people like Ferry and Renaut speak to them, but Americans have the intellectual wherewithal to express satisfaction [for themselves]."

So will the books win any converts? "I'm expecting a series of public confessions and breast-beatings and people calling me up and asking for absolution," Lilla says dryly. "I don't know, I really can't predict. My rough guess is that political theory people will be very interested, but as for the comp-lit types—reading Foucault, body piercing, getting a leather jacket, it's all the same to them. I don't think they're open to new ideas. This series is my last patriotic act. If this doesn't work, I'm moving to Europe."

—*Larissa MacFarquhar*

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OUTSTANDING TITLES FROM THE

APPROACHES TO TEACHING MILLER'S *DEATH OF A SALESMAN*

Edited by Matthew C. Roudané

"IF ONE were to hazard a guess as to what American play is the most studied at the university level," writes Matthew C. Roudané, "it might not be too fanciful to suggest Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*." Fourteen contributors describe how they introduce Miller's play to students in courses ranging from world literature surveys to upper-level seminars on American drama. Their approaches include considering *Death of a Salesman* as the "quintessential" American play; focusing on the importance of the stage directions and scenery; comparing Willy Loman with salesmen in plays by O'Neill and Mamet; and reading the play from psychoanalytic, poststructuralist, sociological, and feminist perspectives. The "Materials" section of the volume discusses editions, anthologies, and a large selection of published works on Arthur Miller. An extensive works-cited list includes various audiovisual aids.

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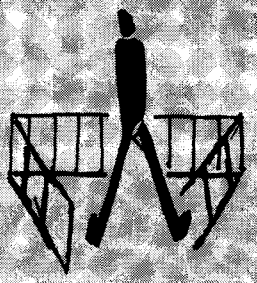

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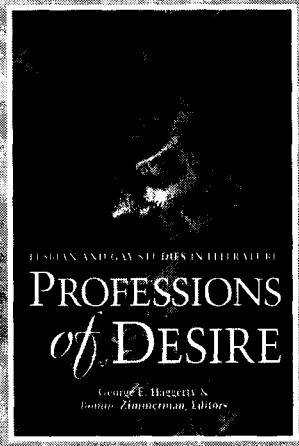

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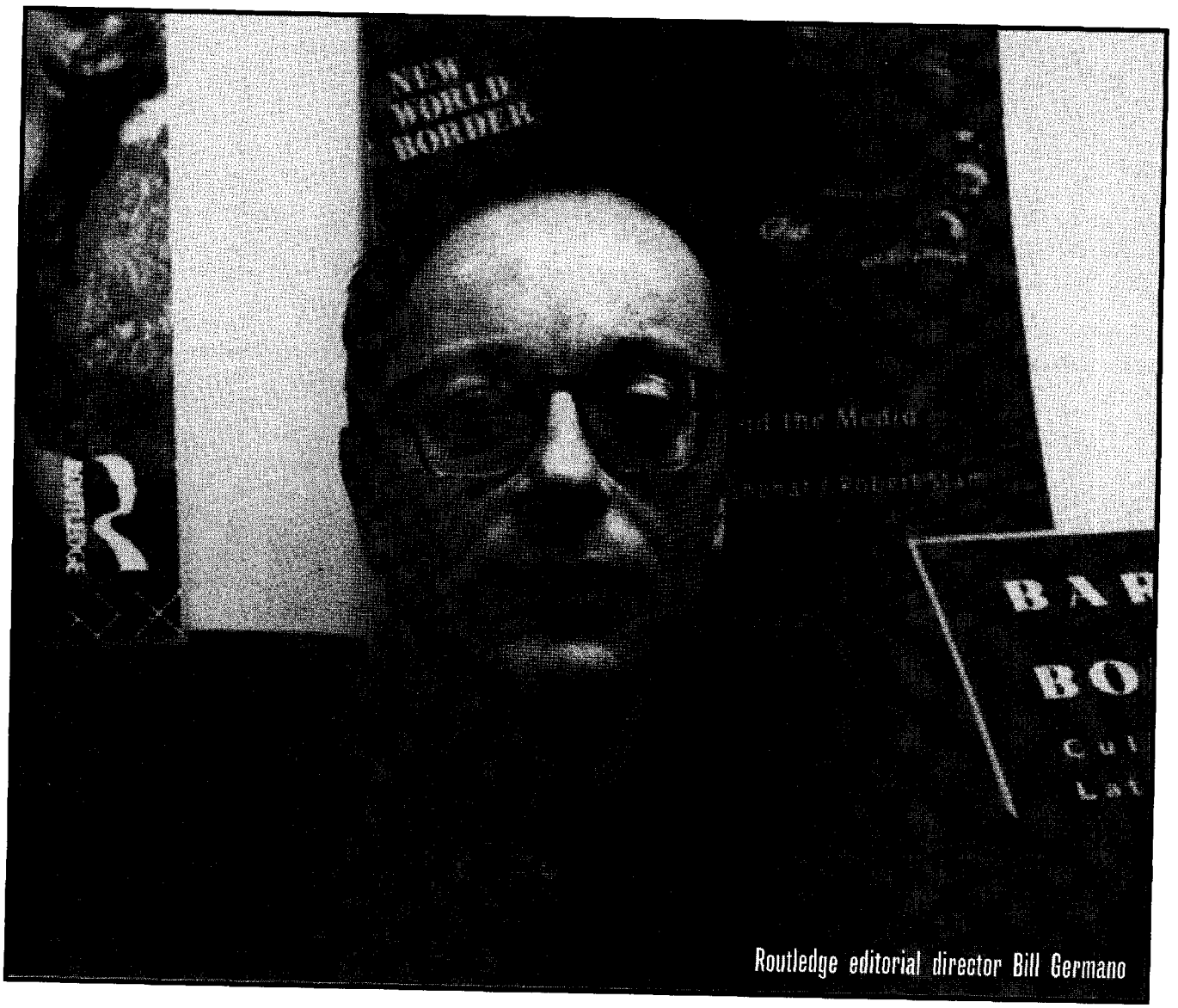
THE ROUTLEDGE



Routledge editorial director Bill Germano

PHOTO BY LEO TOUCHET

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REVOLUTION

BY ROBERT S. BOYNTON

THE RISE OF THE ACADEMIC LEFT'S IN-HOUSE PUBLISHER

Bill Germano will never forget the MLA meeting three years ago where he was approached by an admiring young academic. Although as editorial director of Routledge, Germano is frequently accosted by solicitous scholars eager to get chummy, what impressed him about the encounter was the young academic's high seriousness. Clutching a copy of Routledge's new *Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader,* she complimented him on having published such an important book. After they exchanged further pleasantries, the academic realized that Germano hadn't quite appreciated the gravity of her remark. "No, you don't understand," she said, "this book is *important,* because I can show it to my dean and prove to him that the field actually exists. Without it I couldn't even teach these courses."

Sitting in a dingy kosher bakery on Manhattan's Upper West Side, Germano, bothered by a nasty flu, appears sallow and unshaven—imagine Al D'Amato as a long-suffering literature grad student. Still, he enthusiastically recalls that MLA conversation as a formative moment for him. "One often realizes only *after* the fact that certain acts of publishing are de facto pieces of enabling legislation," he says. "I believe very strongly that publishing is cultural work and that we editors are cultural workers. Making things happen in the culture has always been an important part of what I do. There are certain conversations that need to take place in our increasingly alienated world, but the twin dangers of technology and social alienation make having these conversations difficult. I believe the kind of publishing we do plays a crucial role in encouraging these conversations."

Disney Discourse . . . Outlaw Culture . . .Gender Trouble. The fruits of Germano's labor can be seen in the myriad cultural studies courses and bookstore sections dotting the land. And with their prominence, Routledge has earned itself a grateful, and lucrative, constituency. But despite its success, a number of academics are beginning to wonder whether the Routledge house style—up-to-the-minute readings of popular culture with a poststructuralist patina—hasn't in fact contributed to the very "alienation" that Germano wishes to alleviate. Is Routledge bringing *perestroika* to the staid world of university publishing, or is it cheapening cultural criticism by taking it to new heights of obscurity and commodification?

One thing is for certain: By spotting intellectual trends ahead of the curve and responding with a flash flood of suitable titles, Germano has changed the face of academic publishing in the humanities. While a university press might do a book or two on media studies or cultural studies, Germano was the first to publish

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THE ROUTLEDGE REVOLUTION

entire lines of them aggressively, churning out wide-ranging "readers" and essay collections. And his gamble has paid off. Once there were only isolated scholars scribbling away in English or history departments. Now the university is awash with programs in film studies, gay studies, women's studies—many with reading lists heavily dependent on Routledge authors like Judith Butler, Cornel West, and Constance Penley. By supplying these nascent disciplines with the software needed to get up and running, Germano may have become the Bill Gates of cultural studies.

It doesn't hurt that Routledge's rise has paralleled the culture industry's recent penchant for manufacturing full-blown academic celebrities. Andrew Brown, an editor at Cambridge University Press, remembers the exact moment the Routledge pantheon came into view: "I was walking through the book exhibit at MLA in the mid Eighties and saw these blown-up photos of their authors of the season—not all of them that good-looking as I recall. There were all these young professors looking at them with Horatio Alger hopefulness, thinking, *One day, I'll be up there too.*" And stars they became. Chances are that the wiry, neurasthenic Scotsman who graced a Routledge placard in 1989 is running a cultural studies center today. "Now all my authors want me to make them celebrities, like Andrew Ross," one university press editor grumbles.

Germano's devotion to the culture of academic celebrity remains strong. "When I go to MLA," he says, "I don't go to hear papers. I go to ask people whom I respect who's hot, what's going on, what are you *really* excited about? That is much more important than spending two hours listening to a lecture." And, apparently, what people are really excited about is Tonya Harding: Routledge's most-hyped forthcoming title is *Women on Ice: Feminist Responses to the Tonya Harding/Nancy Kerrigan Spectacle.* Can *Reading O.J.: Engendering the Juice* be far behind?

Under Germano's auspices, cultural studies has traveled a long way from its origins in the dreary British Midlands, attracting an army of followers en route. But for all of Routledge's enthusiasm for high-profile *kulturkampf,* not everyone believes that Germano's massing of cultural studies capital has had an intellectually emancipatory effect. "It is perhaps the saddest story in academic publishing," laments Roger Kimball, author of *Tenured Radicals.* Routledge once published Wittgenstein; now, in Kimball's view, they "have become aggressively faddish and completely caved in to the radical imperatives of the farthest-out fringe."

Germano "doesn't mind kissing a few frogs that don't in the end become princes."

And even those less alienated from the academy than Kimball have second thoughts about Routledge's prolific ways. "There's a tendency to spread certain received ideas and cultural viewpoints that one doesn't have to question," says David Damrosch, a professor of comparative literature at Columbia. Alan Thomas, an editor at the University of Chicago Press, adds that "there isn't yet enough really first-rate cultural studies work to keep even the three hungriest presses—Duke, Minnesota, and Routledge—supplied."

Of those three, Routledge is by far the hungriest. Last year, according to Germano, Routledge posted $20 million in sales for its Canadian owner, the Thomson Company. As Andrew Ross points out, the company's proprietor, Lord Thomson, "was the person who introduced commercial television to England.... He was famous for saying that 'a television license is a license to print money.' " Has cultural studies, one wonders, become Lord Thomson's new cash cow? It's the kind of thought a Routledge author might entertain. Off the record, one Routledge editor says that Thomson is projecting the house to increase its revenues by 16 percent this year (a figure that Germano confirms is "in the ballpark"). "Publishing just doesn't grow by 16 percent a year," the editor complains. "We have these quotas. We have to put out so many books in each discipline a year. It's gotten really crazy lately."

Overpublishing or not, Routledge still has its defenders. "A lot of the most important ideas in any field are partly-baked ideas," says Lindsay Waters, the executive editor of Harvard University Press. "When everybody is waiting for everything to be fully baked, that waiting process has a stultifying effect in which the perfect is often the enemy of the good. Even if there is sometimes a trade-off between quality control and getting ideas out quickly, there is an advantage to saying, 'Okay, this formulation doesn't completely work, but let's see how we should *begin* the conversation and then go from there.'" Andrew Brown puts the point a little differently: "Bill likes taking these kinds of risks; he doesn't mind kissing a few frogs that don't in the end become princes."

One wonders what would have happened had Germano decided to dissect rather than kiss frogs by pursuing his first love—biology. Raised in an Italian-American working-class section of Yonkers, New York, Germano turned from science to literature while at Columbia, where he studied with Edward Said. In 1968, the smell of tear gas was still in the air when Germano and his father, dis-

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traught that his son wouldn't go to the (temporarily) more placid Cornell, came to campus. Although affected by the unrest at Columbia, Germano is better remembered by classmates for his early passion for opera. "We'd be throwing bricks through windows and Bill would come back from Lincoln Center and tell us about Verdi," says Harold Veeser, now a professor of English at Wichita State.

After Columbia, Germano got a Ph.D. in English at Indiana, where he became interested in feminist theory and the New Historicism movement. He was still finishing his dissertation—on seventeenth-century English literature and the patronage relationship between writers and the crown—when he returned to New York to work as an editorial assistant at Columbia University Press. The dissertation topic was, in retrospect, good training for his future role as publisher. "I was fascinated by the way writers tried to get in the good graces of the crown after Elizabeth's death," he says. "In a funny way, I guess it was a study of literary politics."

After a rapid rise, in 1982 Germano became Columbia's editorial director and further explored the burgeoning fields of feminist and cultural theory. He quickly established himself as a heavy hitter, signing up authors like Nancy Miller and Gayatri Spivak, as

SHELF LIFE

FACED WITH BOXES OF ROUTLEDGE-style books that don't quite fit under established rubrics, booksellers have been converging on a solution: Start up a cultural studies shelf. But, then, where to put it?

Harvard Book Store in Cambridge, Massachusetts, solved this problem when it set up its cultural studies section three years ago, says Carol Horne, the store's head buyer. The store pulled all the mongrel titles from philosophy, psychology, sociology, and anthropology, and placed them together in bookselling's equivalent of the time slot following *Home Improvement*—in the "prime position" across from their renowned philosophy shelf. Cultural and critical theory, as Harvard Book Store calls it, quickly grew from one "island case" four feet wide and seven shelves high to three of the same, proving once again the appeal of one-stop shopping.

Guy Brussat, buyer and book manager at Olsson's in Washington, D.C., also had a spot in mind for a cultural studies shelf: "Sociology didn't do that well and we were putting some interesting books in there. It was my hunch that sociology scared people off." So it was out with the old classification and in with the new. "You want, oh—what's his face—Max Weber, you can find him there," Brussat crows. "But if you want to research modern primitives, that's there too." Apparently, one must peer deep into the mind of the consumer to fully appreciate the dynamics of Olsson's strategy. "Somebody sees sociology, and they think, *dry, academic text*. You see cultural studies and you think, *Oh, culture!* It's a subtle, psychological thing." Sales bear this strategy out: The new cultural studies shelf sells four times as well as sociology ever did.

"Sociology bites it."

Representing the institution that first brought you a department of sociology, University of Chicago Press sales manager Susan Donnelly says, "Sociology was really on the wane, sad to say." Computerized inventory lists, she notes, made it clear that sociology "wasn't growing the way that other sections in the store were"—and, according to the new laws of late-twentieth-century bookselling, sociology paid by giving up its shelf space.

"If they have to say, 'All right, we need this, where are we going to put it?' sociology bites it," agrees Paul Williams, sales manager for Routledge and the editor of its promotional rag, *The Cultural Studies Times*, which is devoted largely to goading more booksellers into starting cultural studies sections. Life is good for him right now. New territory is being claimed all the time, it seems. Williams, untroubled by the sufferings of the grande dame of American social science, sees the advent of the cultural studies shelf as the biggest thing to happen in academic bookselling "in the longest time." The boundary-busting array of books nestled in cultural studies shelves, Williams says, "reflects the politics of inclusion, which is the active force in the American academy itself."

But might cultural studies sections suffer from the very fact of their inclusiveness? Claire Silvers, publicity director at Harvard University Press, points out that, "If you want to take the broad view, they could just put that name on absolutely every section of the bookstore." And, indeed, there are signs that the centrifugal tendencies of the inchoate discipline are already ripping it into obsolescence. Paul Yamazaki, buyer at City Lights Bookstore in San Francisco, says that in his store the glory days of cultural studies are over. The heir apparent, says Yamazaki, is the topographies shelf. And what is that? "I'm still trying to figure that out myself," another buyer at City Lights replies. —*Jessica Marshall*

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THE ROUTLEDGE REVOLUTION

well as acquiring Paul Bové's *Intellectuals in Power,* Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's *Between Men,* and Paul de Man's last book, *The Rhetoric of Romanticism,* in which the author included a lengthy acknowledgment of Germano's editorial guidance. Germano has few regrets about leaving the academy: "I would have been a terrible academic specialist, working away on a Johnson monograph for twenty years. At Columbia, I found it completely exhilarating to be in a job where I could just call up someone like Harold Bloom and talk."

Routledge hired Germano in 1986, at a time when the publisher, like other British houses, had its eyes set on the American market. Before Germano, Routledge had already aligned itself with the tradition of British cultural studies, putting out Dick Hebdige's *New Accents* series and various studies of working-class ritual. Once Germano arrived, however, Routledge's New York operation immediately began capitalizing on cultural studies' American twist—pop culture was in, class struggle was out. For the first year, Germano and his assistant, Cecelia Cancellero, now a senior editor, worked on every aspect of their books from acquisition to copyediting and design. "One day we realized that we needed an author's photo for Gayatri Spivak's new book of essays," Germano recalls. "So I brought in my camera, Cecelia bought some film, and we took a role of film during an editorial meeting." Today, Routledge's New York office has nearly one hundred employees (there are twice that many in London), seven of whom are editors.

Though only a few short years ago Routledge books were restricted to standardized cookie-cutter covers, they now stand out from their academic counterparts with the heavily designed jackets more commonly associated with trade paperbacks. The cover of *Spectacular Bodies,* a study of gender and race in action movies, is typical of Routledge's hunky, puff-'n'-pant aesthetic: It features a muscle-bound and tattooed Jean-Claude Van Damme. *Arresting Images,* a collection on art and censorship, juxtaposes an image of the artist Leon Golub dressed as a cardinal with a bound torture victim, her nude chest dripping with blood.

Like most successful culture impresarios, Germano is a practitioner of the high/low two-step, attracting media attention by publishing hip scholarship on the margins of the academy, while covering his flank by pointing to Routledge's more traditional backlist of titles in geography, linguistics, and kindred fields. And while other leftish editors complain about the degenerative effect of market forces on the kinds of books they can pursue, Germano says he relishes the challenge of simultaneously making money and selling interesting ideas: "I like having to balance commerce and culture—I have no problem with that. The presence of one reminds each of the necessity of the other." As Germano knows, the only thing better than critiques of commodified culture may be *commodifying* critiques of commodified culture.

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Of course, making a healthy profit from academically oriented titles isn't as simple as adding a few blockbusters to your theory list. And, in fact, Routledge isn't trying to sell blockbusters at all: Its success stems from identifying a particular academic audience and selling to it relentlessly. "The miracle of publishing isn't in making a profit when you sell 25,000 copies—anyone can do that," Germano says. "The miracle is when you can make a profit when you sell only 3,000." Call it niche marketing to the interdisciplinary crowd.

Routledge owes its well-tuned business machine to several factors, among them its sheer size. Producing between 700 and 800 books a year, of which only 125 or so are acquired in New York, Routledge is one of the largest publishers (after St. Martin's Press, Cambridge, and Oxford) around. The firm also distributes titles for Verso, the well-respected British publishing house founded by the *New Left Review* in 1970. "You have to be pretty big to do the kind of publishing we do because you have to have critical mass in a whole range of fields," says Germano.

These economies of scale give Routledge greater flexibility in distributing its costs over an entire list. That the press produces so many books in each subject also enables its staff to attend a wider variety of professional meetings than would be possible for a smaller publisher with only a few titles in each category to display. This is especially important for the interdisciplinary titles typical of cultural studies, where a book might be relevant to anthropologists, literary theorists, historians, and philosophers. "In many cases it is hard

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for a university press to do as much for an individual as we can," Germano asserts. "While they might be able to sell the hell out of a work of history, they may not sell much in film studies, or they might do well in philosophy, but not go to the MLA." Routledge's abundance of books in each area also helps with direct-mail offerings, which are a crucial means of selling to the academic market.

Another commercial boon is the marketing and sales operation. Routledge's independent sales force (most university presses are sold by sales consortiums) is known for keeping in touch with booksellers and anticipating their needs. "When Routledge was deciding whether they should publish two Bell Hooks books at once, I got a call from the sales manager asking me my opinion," says Robert Contant, owner of St. Marks Books in New York City. "They are savvier than the university presses. They do more advertising, which is important because cultural studies books don't get many reviews, and Routledge understands how to get at a lay audience." Contant also notes that Routledge gives discounts to booksellers that are more in line (45 percent and up) with those being offered by trade publishers.

And, finally, there's Routledge's efficiency-minded editorial process. As a *commercial* academic press, Germano encourages his editors to let their trade instincts guide their intellectual agendas. By avoiding the inherent conservatism of university presses, Routledge has been more easily able to sign up talented authors in developing fields where the norms and standards of evaluating scholarship are in flux—or perhaps nonexistent. Whereas a manuscript submitted to a university press must usually pass through a lengthy and onerous evaluation, Routledge doesn't even have an editorial board.

"Our structure of validation is completely different from a university press's," Germano says. "An editor can walk into my office and say: 'I've been talking to some smart people in this field and they are excited about topic X. There are only three articles available on it, and I think we should commission a collection.' We'll consult our marketing department, and if they think it is a good project being done by the right people and that they can sell it, we'll send out a contract. When the book comes in, then we might get a reader's report to see whether it is correct in all its details."

As a result of Routledge's less-formalized decision-making, a book that might take a university press a year or two to publish can often be produced by Routledge in less than half the time. Indeed, speed is one of the tangible differences between Routledge and university presses—its first enormous collection of papers on cultural studies, called simply *Cultural Studies* (1992), was produced in barely eight months from the time its 1,800-page manuscript was delivered. And why was it so important to get the book out so quickly? "We knew it was fresh, and we wanted to be certain it was the first book of its kind to come out," Germano explains. "We also knew it was going to make us a lot of money, and I wanted to get our hands on that cash flow as soon as possible."

Of course, this rush to publish instant books has its costs. The editors of *Cultural Studies* did little to contain the unruly sprawl of the University of Illinois conference that their volume documents. Columbia's David Damrosch complains that "a lot of the stuff in there is just circulating at a third order of scholasticism." Routledge's 1994 redux, *The Cultural Studies Reader,* herds together mostly fragments of larger works—some even culled from *Cultural Studies* itself. Despite their considerable popularity on cultural studies reading lists, neither book holds up very well next to similar anthologies, like Princeton's *Culture/Power/History,* which went through a slew of revisions over the course of three years before it saw print, or California's *Rethinking Popular Culture,* which features a broad

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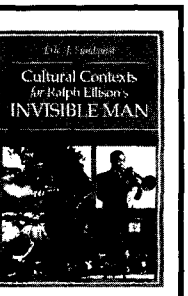

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selection of essays in history, anthropology, sociology and cultural criticism that don't represent only these disciplines' more postmodern acolytes.

Many also wonder whether Routledge's willingness to publish quickly has had a detrimental effect on the actual production of its books. Even by the standards of academic publishing, many Routledge titles are conspicuously turgid and jargon-clotted. Nor are they immune to typos and design flaws. "They have sometimes cut corners on copyediting and proofreading," a sympathetic editor at a university press says. A librarian at NYU notes that Routledge sets rather low standards for "typeface, the quality of the paper, things like that." Although Germano acknowledges that Routledge has had production problems, he insists that they are a thing of the past and that the press is now using other timesaving methods to help speed its books to publication. "In recent years, the quality of our books has increased dramatically," he says.

"When I go to MLA," Germano says, "I don't go to hear papers. I go to ask people whom I respect who's hot . . ."

Still, whatever the risks of the Routledge model, it's a model that university presses are increasingly likely to imitate. (Indeed, Johns Hopkins University Press is currently courting Germano himself for the position of editorial director.) As academic houses find themselves bereft of subsidies and in need of raising revenue, many have begun thinking more like commercial publishers. "Although Routledge operates with a very different level of financial pressure from us, that pressure is not something we are going to be able to avoid for long," says Janaki Bakhle, an editor who acquires cultural studies books for the University of Minnesota Press. "We are going to have to operate more with an eye toward the market, something you can already see in the fact that university presses are offering more crossover books. The logic of capital runs through us all," she concludes dryly.

One route into the Routledge universe is through *The Cultural Studies Times* (subtitled *A Post-Disciplinary Intervention)*, an in-house organ with features on Routledge authors, lists of key players, and explanations of the vital importance of cultural studies.

Homi Bhabha trading cards may be next. The first issue included a Lettermanesque list of the "top-ten reasons why you need a cultural studies section in your bookstore," with such motivational nuggets as "#6—To create a hip pick-up scene" and "#8—Where else would you find Barbie, Disney, and Madonna next to one another?" Aping the efforts by commercial publishers like Random House and Doubleday to create magazines (*At Random* and *D*) that push their own books, Routledge has shown, once again, its willingness to employ trade-publishing tricks to sell academic books.

But there's more to *The Cultural Studies Times* than marketing gimmicks, and in many ways the publication highlights the press's most glaring weaknesses. Given that this is Routledge's main effort to explain itself to a nonacademic audience, it is ironic that *The Times* is such an inept product.

Take Henry A. Giroux's essay "Why Cultural Studies?," which ran on the front page of the *Times*'s second issue. Those looking for a cogent explanation of what cultural studies is all about will be sorely disappointed. Giroux's article is a small masterpiece of evasive assertions and jumbled antitheses:

> The fight to provide the institutional space for public intellectuals to have a voice must be matched by a cautious pedagogical regard for striking a critical balance between producing rigorous intellectual work, on the one hand, and exercising authority that is firm rather than rigid, self-critical and concretely utopian rather than repressive and doctrinaire on the other. Rather than denouncing authority, those who engage in cultural studies must use it to organize their cultural work but at the same time they must avoid committing pedagogical terrorism by allowing their own forms of authority to be held up to critical scrutiny.

In other words, professors ought to exercise authority, but not too much.

The Cultural Studies Times also reflects the ambivalence at the core of cultural studies itself: Enamored of its marginality, cultural studies is uncertain what it wants more—the legitimacy of success or the dignity of failure. The resulting confusion is often comic. In one *Times* essay, for example, Gordon Massman, the cultural studies editor at Westview Press, complains: "Due to a serious lack of vision or something perhaps much more insidious, there seems to be almost no room in the American system of higher education for what is called by it spractitioners [*sic*] 'Cultural Studies'. . . . This hybrid discipline finds itself alternatively orphaned, disenfranchised, or begging in the streets." Yet Giroux's essay paints a quite different picture: "Within the last five years cultural studies has become something of a boom industry. Book stores are scurrying to set up cultural studies displays . . . . Within uni-

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versities and colleges, cultural studies programs are appearing with growing frequency . . . . Cultural studies has more recently attracted the interests of both the popular media and the established press."

Whatever its cognitive dissonance, Routledge continues to grow. But the expansion may not last forever. One present danger for the firm is that its authors will move on to greener pastures. After publishing *Vested Interests* to great acclaim with Routledge (and a lucrative paperback deal with HarperCollins), Harvard professor Marjorie Garber was paid $180,000 by Simon & Schuster for *Vice Versa,* her new book on bisexuality. Bell Hooks, Routledge's lead author on its fall 1994 list ("I was already a star when I signed up with Bill," she says), recently signed a two-book deal for $85,000 with Holt. Even Andrew Ross, an author virtually identified with Routledge, has published his last two books with Verso. While Routledge's intellectual cachet within the cultural studies world is indisputable, these writers have had to look elsewhere to be paid well.

And, indeed, losing authors to wealthier trade houses points up a central dilemma for Germano: If the academic stars Routledge banks on *really* take off, it gets priced out of the bidding. But, on the other hand, if the fields its writers are associated with begin to ebb, Routledge had better come up with a new trend—fast. Either way, it can't count on the secure staying power of the traditional disciplines that keep university presses afloat. What's more, even Routledge can't publish fast enough to keep up with the breakneck pace at which popular culture moves. Sandra Gilbert, the influential feminist critic and co-author of *The Madwoman in the Attic,* laughed approvingly after hearing about the forthcoming Routledge book on the Tonya Harding affair. Laughed, that is, after a few moments spent racking her brain: "I had to think for a minute to remember who Tonya Harding was."

Right now, the topics Germano likes to discuss are somewhat less ephemeral. After the obligatory nod toward the grail of electronic publishing (Routledge's catalogue has just gone on-line and the press is exploring a variety of CD-ROM projects, an interactive Bell Hooks disk among them), Germano talks about his latest enthusiasm—religion. "Over the past several years, there are two things I keep encountering: Almost no academic I know believes in God, but they all think religion is the most profound and underexplored dimension of American life," he says. To satisfy this audience, Routledge has several titles in the works, including *African-American Islam;* a reader on religion and the

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environment called *This Sacred Earth;* and books on Native American Christianity and "post-Zionist" culture.

Any other plans? "We are very excited about the family and maternity," he replies. "If we cede the ground on these issues to conservative know-nothings, we are just rolling over and playing dead. We on the left have got to really engage these issues and ask some uncomfortable, critical questions about the kinds of phenomena that the right has tried to take over."

In many respects, the prospect of Routledge focusing its attention on home and hearth, rather than cyberpunks and ice queens, may be heartening. Having lavished attention on the first half of the phrase "cultural politics," it would be nice to see Routledge publish more analyses of the day-to-day political issues that are being fought over outside the seminar room. But will this shift to God and family—tentatively titled the *Religion/Representations* series—turn up anything new? Or just a repackaging of familiar theoretical gestures and opaque language games? Might the recognition that individuals "construct" their identities through religion and family—as well as through ethnicity and sexuality—alter the cultural studies enterprise in some fundamental way?

Like any good player, Germano won't show his cards. "Just watch this space," he says. "For the last few years, we have excelled in the areas we were already geared up to handle. Now we are going to use the energy of those parts of the list to address these other fields. In three years, I want people to say, 'How the hell did Routledge know that religion was going to be as big a part of the culture as it has become?'"

And for now it's Routledge Family Values time? "Believe me," Germano says, "when Routledge does something about the family, it sure ain't gonna be a celebration of Ozzie and Harriet!" LF

Robert S. Boynton has written for The New Republic, The Atlantic Monthly, *and* The New York Times Magazine.

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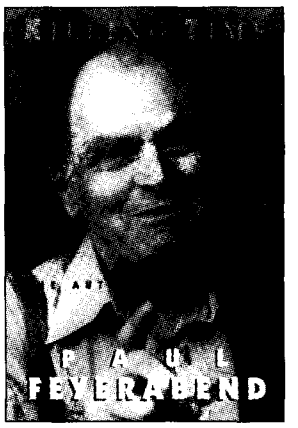

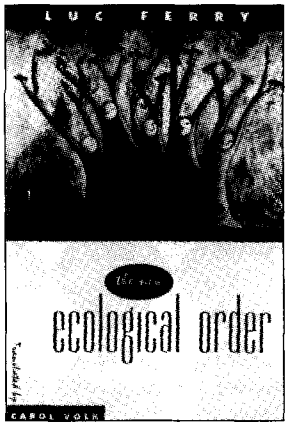

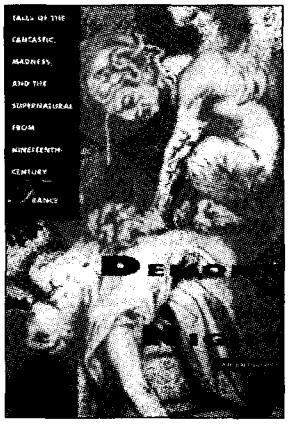

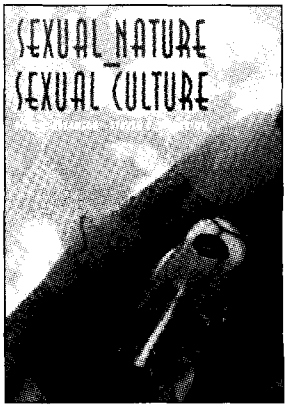

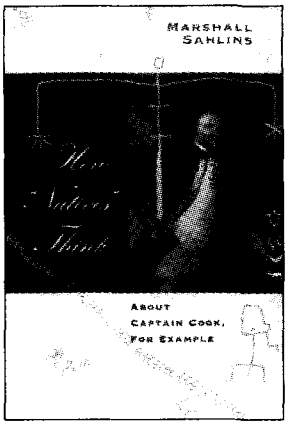

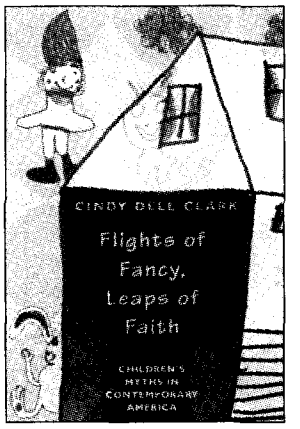

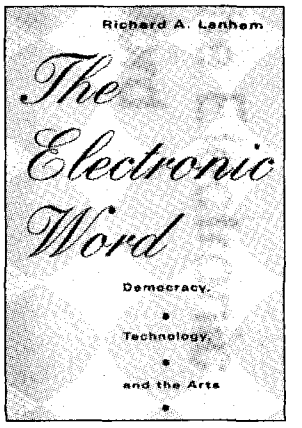

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SALLIE MAE FIGHTS BACK

WHO WOULD OPPOSE MAKING COLLEGE AFFORDABLE? NEARLY EVERYONE, IN FACT. THE INSIDE STORY OF BILL CLINTON'S STUDENT-LOAN REFORM, ITS RESOURCEFUL ENEMIES, AND ITS SHAKY SUCCESS.

BY STEVEN WALDMAN

In September 1991, Bill Clinton unveiled what would become one of the most consistent applause lines of his presidential campaign. "Opportunity for all," he told the Democratic National Committee, "means giving every young American the chance to borrow the money necessary to go to college and pay it back." Before he got to the next part, the audience interrupted him with applause. "Pay it back as a percentage of income over several years, or with years of national service here at home—a domestic G.I. Bill." Again Clinton was interrupted by the Democratic activists. "A domestic G.I. Bill that would ask young Americans to go to the streets of our cities and be teachers, to be policemen where we need community policemen, to be nurses where there's a nursing shortage, to be family service workers where families are breaking down and children are abused and neglected, to rebuild America from the people point of view. We can do that with a national service."

Just two years later, Clinton signed the law that created AmeriCorps, which would in its first year put more young people into service than the Peace Corps had at its peak. But what of the other part of that stump-speech line, the part about college loans being paid back "as a percentage of income over several years"? This, too, became law—and may end up being one of Clinton's most important social policy legacies. The intent of Clinton's plan was to widen access to college, and to alter the very purpose of education. While national service will touch tens of thousands of people, student-loan reform will touch millions.

Yet the Washington press corps, and as a result the broader public, paid almost no attention to the legislative fight over college-loan reform. That's a shame, because that fight provides a memorable case study of how and why bureaucracies, interest groups, and politicians so often sabotage even the best ideas.

The cost of a college education increased faster in the Eighties than that of cars, food, or houses—and far faster than family income. College now costs a family more than one in every five dollars it earns—up from one in seven in 1980. America has also revolutionized the way it finances college: In the Seventies, two thirds of all aid came in the form of grants; today, two thirds comes in the form of loans. Few financial developments have been as sudden, massive, and

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PHOTO BY WALLY MCNAMEE

Bob Shireman, Senate staffer and direct lending advocate

negligibly acknowledged. (If the significance is not clear, consider the difference between someone giving you a car and lending you the money to buy one.)

The Clinton loan reform had an extraordinary premise: Government should make it easier for people to earn less.

The college-cost explosion has begun to undermine some basic American principles. From 1982 to 1989, the percentage of private college and university students from wealthier families jumped from 50 percent to 63 percent. The thirty-year trend of expanded opportunity, inaugurated by the G.I. Bill after World War II, began to reverse itself.

Income-contingent loans—or pay-as-you-can loans, as I'll call them—can change the decision calculus of a low-income high school student. Right now, he might look at loans and decide that college is not a sensible wager. His time horizons are short, and he finds it nearly impossible to envision a future lucrative enough to pay off a loan. He sees around him men and women enslaved by shady high-interest loans and few instances of high-wage, well-educated workers. Others in low-income communities might have developed an entitlement mentality that encourages them to eschew loans and wait for grants. But with a pay-as-you-can loan, the government is saying: "You have no excuse not to go to college. If you take out a loan, graduate, and still earn nothing, you will pay nothing. But if education pays you dividends, as it does for most people, you will have plenty of cash with which to gratefully repay society."

The benefits are not limited to the poor. Consider middle-class parents who know that their daughter has the grades for a top-tier private school but fear they can't afford the tuition. Under pay-as-you-can, their daughter can take out loans knowing that if she doesn't rake it in, her payments will still be affordable.

Yet for all the potentially revolutionary improvement of access, what appealed most to Clinton about pay-as-you-can loans was the connection to service. He believed that more college students might have pursued careers in teaching, social work, or law enforcement over the past fifteen years had they not been so loaded down with debt. Clearly, debt levels have affected a range of life choices. In 1985, according to one study, 32 percent of all college graduates said debt pushed them to rent, not buy, housing; in 1991, 47 percent said so. In 1985, 25 percent said debt forced them to work two or more jobs; by 1991, almost 40 percent said it did. The average indebtedness of medical students, for example, rose from $14,622 in 1979 to a staggering $45,840 by 1990, increasing pressure on graduates to enter high-paying specialties like dermatology rather than less profitable but essential fields like family medicine or pediatrics. So the Clinton loan reform really had an extraordinary premise: Government should make it easier for people to earn less. As Clinton said in 1993, "People are not free if they cannot take advantage of what the Almighty gave them." Ronald Reagan said that if he could get government off our backs, Americans would show their innate creativity and economic energy. Clinton's college-aid reform suggested that if government could get financial debt off their backs, Americans would be free to serve others.

The way it stands: Heather Doe is a fictitious college student. She's a junior at Paiselley College, where she studies semiotics, feminist architecture, and literature of the Amazon. After graduation she'd like to do something socially useful.

Heather's father is a junior executive at a major bio-tech

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SALLIE MAE

firm, and her mother manages a local franchise of Mail Boxes, Etc. Together the Does earn $80,000, not quite enough to cover Paiselley's $25,000 tuition and expenses. The school gave Heather a $7,000 grant, she received a $1,000 scholarship from the local church, and her parents put up $12,000. For the rest, she went to her local bank, Union National Federal, and got a $5,000 Stafford loan. (She will end up taking out loans of varying sizes throughout college.) The Stafford loan has three advantages for Heather. Because the loan is guaranteed by the federal government, she gets a low interest rate (6.2 percent in 1993); she doesn't have to provide collateral; and she doesn't have to pay interest while she's in school. After graduation, she will pay $230 a month for ten years to retire her $20,000 debt. Union National Federal executives like the Stafford loan too. They know that if Heather flees to Nicaragua to work in the coffee fields and defaults, the U.S. Treasury will cover the debt. Until the Sixties, banks had understandably been reluctant to loan money to students: They had no jobs, no credit history, no collateral, no proof of future earnings, and strange haircuts. Congress, however, wanted young people to go to college. And so it passed the Higher Education Act of 1965, which gave special incentives—the interest subsidy and the loan guarantee—to those banks willing to help. Within two decades, student loans became highly profitable to the banks, more consistently lucrative than even mortgages or car loans.

Senator Paul Simon

Within two decades, student loans became highly profitable to the banks, more consistently lucrative than even mortgages or car loans.

To further ensure that banks would provide loans, Congress created a complex network of backup entities to give lenders a comfortable arrangement. A system of state-sanctioned "guaranty agencies" would collect defaulted loans so banks wouldn't have the hassle. If Heather defaults on her loan, Union National Federal will be reimbursed by a guaranty agency, which—follow the bouncing check—will be largely reimbursed by Uncle Sam. The guaranty agency will send collectors after Heather. If the agency gets her to cough up the $20,000, they will pocket $6,000 of it. This is on top of a one percent fee they collect for every loan they guarantee. Like the banks, these agencies, some run by state governments and others operated as nonprofit companies, bear little risk.

In 1972 Congress decided that Union National Federal shouldn't be bothered with holding on to Heather's loan, even if she isn't a deadbeat. They set up a federally chartered corporation called the Student Loan Marketing Association, a national "secondary market" better known as Sallie Mae. As soon as Heather graduates, Union National Federal can sell her loan to Sallie Mae and never deal with collections. As of 1992, Sallie Mae held $20.8 billion in loans—one third of all those outstanding.

The system has become a classic example of what columnist Michael Kinsley calls capitalizing profits while socializing risk. The financial players earn the profits while the public takes the risks. And Sallie Mae does seem to be doing awfully well for a quasi-governmental entity. Its luxurious Georgetown offices have the power-quiet of a major law firm; its corridors are decorated with immense modern paintings and sculptures bearing names like *The Drama of Space* and *The White Peacock*. The glass doors never seem to have fingerprints. The president of the United States appoints one third of Sallie Mae's board of directors, and yet its stock is traded on the New York Stock Exchange and its CEO, Lawrence Hough, earned $1.3 million in 1992.

By 1993, the system had become so jumbled, Rube Goldberg himself would have had to hire an efficiency consultant to figure it out. There were roughly 8,000 lenders, fifty state secondary markets in addition to Sallie Mae, and an equal number of guaranty agencies. A diagram of the current student-aid system resembles a pinball machine, with loans getting bounced helter-skelter among students, schools, guaranty agencies, secondary markets, and the Department of Education. At large schools that draw students from all

AP/Wide World Photos

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over the country, a financial-aid officer has to deal with hundreds of entities to keep track of the loans. While generating $15 billion in new loans in 1992, the U.S. Treasury spent $6 billion on the student loan program. That's a lot of overhead.

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What does all this have to do with Clinton's primary concern, pay-as-you-can loans? Most analysts who tried to devise flexible repayment plans concluded that it couldn't be done through the banks. For one, the collections would have to be made by someone with accurate, up-to-date information about how much a graduate was earning. Only one entity fits that description—the IRS. Second, pay-as-you-can loans would complicate life for the banks. And the banks had made it clear over the years that any new burdens would drive them into simpler lines of work.

If the government was going to switch to pay-as-you-can loans, then it made sense to implement another radical reform simultaneously: eliminating the entire student-aid industry and adopting "direct lending." In other words, the government would give money directly to Paiselley College, which would then give it to Heather. She would repay the IRS at tax time. No banks would be necessary to originate the loan or collect the payments; the secondary markets and guaranty agencies could eventually curl up and die.

John Dean was not happy about Clinton's plan to scrap the student-aid system. Dean, who must occasionally introduce himself as "John Dean, not the Watergate felon," is the Washington lobbyist for the Consumer Bankers Association, representing more than 500 banks with a direct stake in the federal student-loan program.

Unlike high-profile Washington influence peddlers such as Michael Deaver, Dean is a more nuts-and-bolts—and often more effective—lobbyist: a former Republican congressional staffer with enough expertise not just to visit with the congressman but to write his speeches and draft his legislation. During the 1992 campaign, while most of the world was wondering whether candidate Clinton had time to bed a lounge singer between jogs, Dean monitored every word he uttered on student loans. At several points, Dean sent copies of speeches, debate excerpts, and newspaper articles to banks around the country to alert them to impending troubles. Once Clinton won, Dean slipped questions to key Capitol Hill staffers so senators would ask about direct lending at the confirmation hearings of Clinton's appointees.

The election of a new president also awakened the guaranty agencies. In January 1993, the American Student Assistance Corporation (ASA) formed a coalition with two other major guaranty agencies to block Clinton's student-loan reform plans. In the grand tradition of lobbying doublespeak, they named their group the Coalition for Student Loan Reform. ASA's president would be in charge of "message," while the two other agencies, based in Ohio and Indiana, would handle the heavy-duty Washington lobbying.

By mid-January, rumors were circulating that the administration was going with full-scale direct lending. This sent the banks into a minor panic. Sallie Mae's stock began diving. On February 17, Clinton released his first budget, which did indeed include a switch to direct lending. The next day, terrified traders on Wall Street dumped so much Sallie Mae stock that the New York Stock Exchange had to halt trading.

In frantic response, loan industry executives hired more and more Washington lobbyists—particularly lobbyists with Democratic Party connections. The student-loan lobbying roster began to read like a seating chart at a Democratic fund-raiser.

The USA Group of Indianapolis, the largest guaranty agency in the country, hired Akin, Gump—the lobbying firm of both Robert Strauss, the former chairman of the Democratic Party, and Vernon Jordan, head of Clinton's transition operation. But no one had more lobbying clout than Sallie Mae, which pulled together an all-star team of great Washington influence-peddlers. Following Sallie Mae's stock crash, CEO Hough decided they would have to be extremely aggressive. "When you lose $3 billion in wealth, you can't just say to shareholders, 'Hey, don't worry,'" Hough said. "You have to *do* something." The corporation retained Harry McPherson, a former special counsel to President Lyndon Johnson and a top Washington rainmaker. Perhaps Sallie Mae's most important asset was Jerry Hultin, the man who had run Clinton's campaign in Ohio and was a friend of the Clintons from law school. Hultin accompanied Hough to several meetings with key administration officials.

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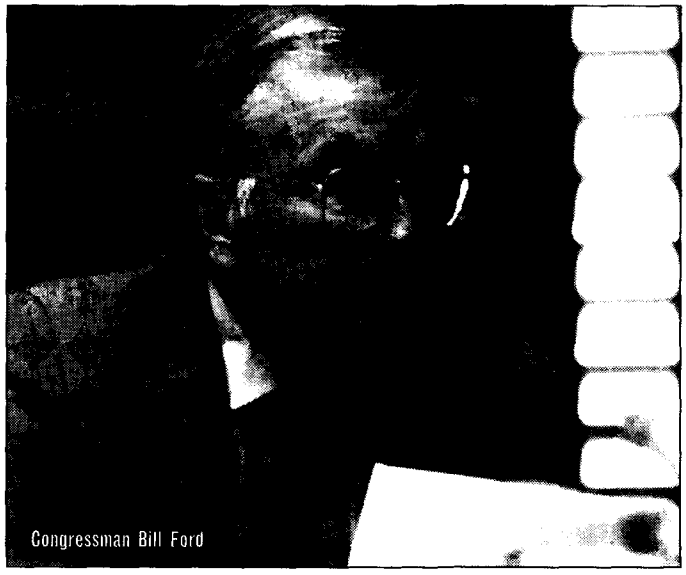
SALLIE MAE

Bill Clinton assigned the scrapping of the existing student-loan system to two savvy, professional politicians: Secretary of Education Richard Riley, who had overcome a devastating physical disability to become one of South Carolina's most popular governors, and deputy secretary Madeleine Kunin, a three-term governor of Vermont.


Congressman Bill Ford

One of the first things Kunin did when she arrived in Washington was to read the General Accounting Office report on the Department of Education, which stated that the student-loan program was at "high risk" of catastrophe because of colossal management problems. "So *this* is what we've gotten ourselves into," Kunin said to Riley the next time they met. Kunin and Riley soon found out that some Department of Education staffers had no desire to throw out the student-loan program with which they had become comfortable, and had serious doubts about whether ability-to-pay loans and IRS collection could work. "Like any bureaucracy, they had built relationships with existing players," Kunin said later. The permanent staff at the Office of Management and Budget also believed it would be nearly impossible to administer a massive income-contingent loan program. And the IRS careerists feared that handling student loans would drain resources from their mission of collecting taxes. At least, Riley and Kunin thought, they could count on support from the colleges. But that, too, turned out to be a false assumption.

Higher education is represented in Washington by about forty trade associations, each with a slightly different reason for disliking the Clinton plan.

Higher education is represented in Washington by about forty trade associations, each with a specific constituency—big state schools, private colleges, community colleges, trade schools, financial-aid officers, Jesuit schools, medical schools. Each group had a slightly different reason for disliking the Clinton plan.

The private schools, as represented by the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities, loved ability-to-pay loans because these loans would help students afford the schools' higher tuition. But they seriously doubted that the Department of Education could manage a "direct lending" program. College officials were nervous about taking responsibility for disbursing funds, since that would mean a partnership with the notoriously incompetent Department of Education, which, among other things, had never quite figured out how to keep track of millions of outstanding loans.

And the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU), which represents large public-school systems like California State and the State University of New York, had concerns that ran opposite to those of the private colleges. AASCU officials liked direct lending but distrusted ability-to-pay loans and national service loan forgiveness.

Why would schools dislike easier repayment terms? The large public schools viewed not loans but grants as the key to maintaining broad access to college. In particular, they liked Pell grants—the no-strings-attached scholarships for the poor. After fifteen years of deficit-driven politics, they looked at student-aid budgets as a zero-sum game: Loans go up, Pell grants go down. And under Clinton's plan, loan volume could explode.

Clinton's most important ally was thirty-one years old, wore sandals to the office whenever possible, kneaded Silly Putty to release tension, and worked for a man with very long earlobes. Bob Shireman was the education aide to Sen. Paul Simon (Dem., Ill.), who would lead the Senate fight for ability-to-pay loans and direct lending.

Shireman joined Simon in the fall of 1989, and immediately started searching for an issue with which he could make his mark. He settled on income-contingent loans and direct lending. This change, he insisted, could save

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billions of dollars and help poor and middle-class families. The idea, Shireman wrote Simon, also had one major tactical advantage: an easy-to-demonize foe—the banks. Sure, there'd be a fight, but "without a fight," Shireman said, "there is no media attention."

Direct lending, Shireman said, had one major tactical advantage: an easy-to-demonize enemy.

Simon didn't warm to the idea at the time for fear that it had too many technical problems. But a year later, he was breezing though the *Congressional Record*—he is one of the few senators, in fact, one of the few human beings, who reads it cover to cover—and came across a statement from Republican Senator David Durenberger of Minnesota advocating direct lending and income-contingent loans. Simon tore out the page, and scrawled on it, "Talk to me, Bob." Simon decided he wanted to team up with Durenberger.

In January 1993, Clinton was on the verge of deciding whether to embrace Simon's direct-lending approach—and Shireman was busy turning up the heat. He and his colleagues had already succeeded in putting the loan industry on the defensive. That month, Simon's press secretary, David Carle, got Jack Anderson and Michael Binstein to do one of their syndicated columns on the "middleman racket" run by Sallie Mae. Anderson and Binstein implied that Sallie Mae lobbyists had showed up on the doorstep of one transition official in the middle of the night to make the case for the status quo (actually, domestic policy adviser Bill Galston had invited them to his Washington home).

Then Shireman got a delicious opportunity. He learned that John Dean's Consumer Bankers Association and another group representing guaranty agencies planned to hold a "Lobby Day" on March 2. Assorted bankers were to come to town, learn about direct lending, and then visit their congressmen. Shireman and Carle organized a campaign to highlight the lobbying onslaught. Shireman drafted a hard-hitting letter to senators warning that the greedy bankers would soon be in their midst. Carle contacted reporters with the urgent tone of a botanist alerting colleagues that the 17-year cicadas were emerging from their pods.

By the day of the event, a flustered John Dean had stopped calling it Lobby Day and had started insisting it was a "legislative workshop." Although Simon's crew had conjured images of high-powered influence peddlers descending like vultures, most were the midlevel bank executives who dealt with the student-loan program. Imagine their confusion when they discovered three camera crews, with brilliant lights, taping their arrival at the Holiday Inn Crowne Plaza in downtown Washington, as if they were mobsters called to testify before a grand jury.

The consumer bankers distributed a thirteen-point tip sheet on lobbying, which mostly suggested common courtesies—"Always say thank you"—but did recommend campaign contributions and other signs of thoughtfulness: "If your legislator has won a victory for your industry, it is not uncommon to send key staffers flowers or tickets to the theater with a polite note of thanks."

Meanwhile, direct-lending advocates gathered in the Senate's radio and TV gallery to denounce the sinister lobbyists before a packed press conference. The tactic worked magnificently. "More than one hundred bankers flocked to Capitol Hill last week in an effort to combat President Clinton's plan to overhaul the government's student loan program," began *The Wall Street Journal*'s report on the workshop. *The MacNeil/Lehrer News-Hour* did a segment on the gathering that was so anti-industry that it used illustrations of little green money bags to illustrate the bloated salaries of Sallie Mae executives.

The student-aid fight showcased all of the colorful species of lobbyist in the special-interest aviary. In 1993, 15,000 people worked as lobbyists in Washington; and many had passed through the "revolving door" from government to the private sector. But while cashing in on friendships or knowledge of the system is certainly prevalent, the higher-education community also illustrates a subtler variant of the phenomenon—what might be called the cousins-marrying syndrome.

There's often something to be said for cousins marrying. They have similar backgrounds, and overlapping guest lists at the wedding. But society discourages inbreeding because it spawns kids with three eyeballs. The problem with a community like higher education—where staffers regularly move from the Hill to the Department of Education to a trade association—is not corruption but, potentially, stale thinking and stasis. Objectivity in policy-making becomes more difficult. For instance, is the Hill staffer who knows he wants to work for the college association some day going to deny it money in the legislative process? Does the Education Department staffer who knows he'll be having drinks with the college lobbyists Tuesday night want to sign off on a policy that will hurt the organization represented by his pal near the nachos? Was the department so eager to push direct lending because the public university lobbyists were? Were they living in an echo chamber, hearing only their own voice?

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SALLIE MAE

The most significant lobbying trend of the Nineties, however, is not the revolving door or influence-peddling or the cousins-marrying syndrome. It is organized grass-roots lobbying. The phrase conjures images of Ralph Nader interns in cutoffs and solar energy T-shirts pounding on doors during their summer vacations; but in the Eighties and Nineties, private industry borrowed the techniques pioneered by environmental and public-interest activists to generate massive issue-oriented political campaigns. Even big Washington firms like Patton, Boggs & Blow and Hill and Knowlton have developed "grass-roots capabilities."

In many cases, the president of a college supported direct lending, while the same school's financial-aid administrator opposed it.

Primitive grass-roots campaigns involve mobilizing the members of a group, as when the Consumer Bankers Association got banks to write to legislators to oppose direct lending. But more sophisticated grass-roots campaigns focus on getting credible, disinterested third parties to lobby for the client—in political pool, a bank shot. The student-aid industry realized it had little credibility with lawmakers, so the major players had others make their case for them. Who had the most credibility? Financial-aid administrators, the grunt-level men and women who actually gave out the aid, dealt with students, and would have to implement a direct-lending system. Sallie Mae sent "self-tutorials" to aid officers at 3,000 schools so that they could estimate the dangers of direct lending. Teams of experts visited dozens of campuses and held partisan seminars with aid administrators on the effects of direct lending. They whipped out studies they'd done at other schools which—surprise!—determined that colleges would have to hire extra staff, buy additional computers, and open new offices, at an average cost of $219,000 per year.

The blitz worked. On March 24, 1993, the Iowa Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators wrote to colleagues, urging them to oppose full-blown direct lending. On March 31, the Florida aid officers joined them, and soon so did their colleagues in Kansas. By April 6, the Southern Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators had endorsed a go-slow approach on behalf of officers in nine Southern states. Joe Russo, the financial-aid director at the University of Notre Dame, circulated a daunting paper called "Ninety-five Questions to Help Plan the Direct Loan Program." In many cases, the president of a college supported full-blown direct lending, while the same school's financial-aid administrator opposed it.

What would prompt a lowly financial-aid officer to buck the president of his or her own school? Some college lobbyists grumbled that it was a case of simple corruption: The aid officers had been bought off by Sallie Mae, the guaranty agencies, and the banks, which often helped finance the aid officers' annual conventions. To prove that claim, the lobbyists faxed around leaflets showing that USA Group, the largest guaranty agency, sponsored the Fiesta of Spicy Cuisine and Mariachi Music at a San Antonio convention of aid administrators.

The aid officers had also developed loyalty to the industry players for practical reasons. As colleges cut financial-aid–office budgets, it was Sallie Mae and the banks that often came to the rescue with new computer software and training programs. The aid officers looked at it this way: Maybe direct lending would work, maybe it wouldn't. But if it didn't, the results would be catastrophic for both students and schools, and aid officers would get blamed—and this time they wouldn't have Sallie Mae to back them up.

In April 1993, ads began appearing in college newspapers around Ohio from a group called Students for Loan Reform. THE GOVERNMENT NEVER ASKED FOR YOUR OPINION, BUT DON'T LET THAT STOP YOU, said the headline. The ad went on to state that the new loan program "could mean increased tuition, reduced student programs, and more government red tape. (Maybe even the IRS collecting our loans.) What's worse, if the program fails, you could be without means of getting money for college." The ad also listed an 800 number; students who called it were patched through immediately to their senators' offices. It turned out that Students for Loan Reform was set up and financed by the Ohio Student Loan Corporation, the secondary market in Ohio, and one of John Dean's clients.

The Clinton administration finally unveiled the particulars of its student loan reform on May 6. The bill phased in full direct lending, created a more flexible repayment plan—including ability-to-pay loans—and gave the secretary of education broad authority to implement the collection of loans by the IRS.

Shireman knew that the best way to counter the industry's grass-roots efforts against the bill was to organize his own. In the modern legislative process, senators regularly push their own legislative agenda by generating political activity in other senators' states. They realize that their colleagues, as friendly as they might be, are more likely to listen to their constituents than to a senatorial golf buddy.

On May 26, Shireman brought a dozen key education lobby-

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ists to a conference room in the Dirksen Senate Office Building to plot how to put pressure on each senator to support direct lending. By this time, the colleges had decided to go along with the administration's campaign. As much as the schools distrusted national service and pay-as-you-can loans, they distrusted the banks more. "Let's go through the Senate Democrats by state," Shireman began. "Heflin and Shelby [of Alabama]. I met with Heflin's staff a few days ago. He's close to the banks in his state. He's worth some contacts. Does anyone have any ideas?"

The largest guaranty agency, USA Group, sponsored the Fiesta of Spicy Cuisine and Mariachi Music at a San Antonio convention of aid administrators.

"There are two black colleges in Alabama," said Joyce Payne of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, which represents many large state universities, including historically black public colleges.

"Mikulski [of Maryland]," Shireman continued. "You can't tell by talking to her staffers."

"We should have a face-to-face with Mikulski," Nick Littlefield, of Senator Kennedy's office, suggested. "We've got a meeting with twenty Maryland college presidents to get them warmed up," added Jane Wellman of the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities.

But Shireman knew that the utmost care must be taken when pushing a senator's buttons. He warned Wellman not to have Johns Hopkins University take a lead in the effort. Mikulski "doesn't like them," he said. "She likes Villa Julie or something," he added, referring to a small community college in Stevenson, Maryland. "Is Villa Julie going to be there?"

"Yes. We're getting the dinky ones to call her," Wellman assured him. At one point, Senator Simon entered the room, wearing his red bow tie, and sat down next to Shireman. "I'm glad you're doing this," Simon said. "We have to understand that our friends on the other side are doing the same."

Simon rattled off a few suggestions on how to pressure particular senators. He suggested getting Bill Danforth, president of Washington University in St. Louis, to call his brother, John Danforth, the Republican senator from Missouri. "I know him real well," Simon said, "but it really ought to come from you. The more grass roots you can generate, the better."

There were still other obstacles facing the legislation ahead, and not all of them created by lobbyists. A few weeks before the Clinton bill's markup, the staff of the House Ways and Means Committee, which oversees the IRS, read the Clinton administration's provision for IRS collection and, to use a common legislative expression, freaked out. The Ways and Means staff informed the White House that if anyone was going to change the responsibilities of the IRS, it would be Ways and Means, thank you very much. The administration could feel free to do "a study," and if the study favored IRS collection, the White House could make a recommendation to Congress. Then, and only then, the Ways and Means Committee would decide on the IRS's role. The White House staff, never telling Clinton, who might have understood the importance of the provision and decided to fight for it, quickly backed down.

And so, when Congressman Bill Ford (Dem., Mich.), chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, finally sat down to push the direct-lending bill through, there was, buried on page 59 of the legislation, a small omission that almost no one on the committee noticed, and no one in the press reported—yet it signaled one of the most significant retreats of the entire legislative process. The IRS provision was crucial to the success of the whole reform. Without a significant IRS role, it would be difficult to implement income-contingent loans and keep the program from turning into a hard-to-collect boondoggle, as other student-loan initiatives had. "It was a lousy cave-in," said Joe Flader, a staff aide to Congressman Tom Petri (Rep., Wis.), who had long pushed for ability-to-pay loans.

Over the next two months, the loan industry battled with direct-lending supporters through committee markups, hearings, and floor votes. The House finally voted for full direct lending, while the Senate voted to try direct lending in half of the schools and bank-based lending in the other half. At a climactic House-Senate conference in July 1993, legislators haggled over the speed of a direct-lending phase-in, how much money it would save the government, and how the banks would react.

In the end, the administration largely won what it had sought: authority to switch most colleges to direct lending over the next five years and to begin a pay-as-you-can loan system. The new loans call for payments equal to four percent of an individual's income if the debt is $1,000. The payment rate rises as the debt burden gets larger. A college graduate with a $30,000 income and a $50,000 debt would pay $345 per month, instead of the $581 called for under the standard plan. Someone with a low income and a high debt could end up with a big chunk of loan outstanding at year twenty-five—which the government would then wipe out. The one clear defeat for Clin-

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Lyle Ashton Harris: Alexandra and Lyle, 1994. Courtesy of Jack Tilton Gallery, New York.

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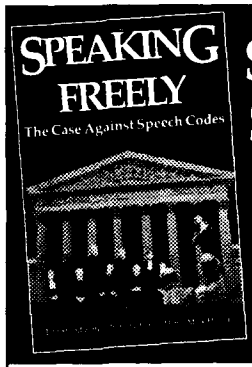

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SALLIE MAE

ton was his failure to get a major role for the IRS. More than a year after the bill's passage, the long-term IRS role is still unclear. So the question remains: Will the administration's political failure on that one provision so hobble the program that the victory of pay-as-you-can loans will be meaningless?

Clinton's student-aid reform is one of the most important presidential initiatives in decades. It attempts not only to put more cash in students' hands, but to change the incentive structure that governs a young American's life choices. Yet thanks to interest group politics and White House caution, it was brought about in incomplete form.

What's more, in the Republican Congress, the plan's future is precarious. Congressman Bill Goodling (Rep., Penn.), the chief opponent of direct lending in 1993, has taken over as chairman of the Education and Labor Committee. And he has already proposed legislation that would limit direct lending to 40 percent of all loans. Newt Gingrich, for his part, thinks direct lending will turn out to be a disaster. Speaking to an association of college presidents in February, he said: "The federal government, which has failed miserably in almost everything that it has done, will in the end do to direct lending what it's done to public housing. Your successors will find it a nightmare." The student-aid industry has grown gleeful with the hope of stopping direct lending in its tracks and eventually rolling it back.

Faced with this threat, Clinton has chosen to defend the plan aggressively. "University administrators all over the country have told me that they are saving weeks and weeks of bureaucratic time now because of our direct college loan program," he boasted in his 1995 State of the Union address. "We shouldn't cap that program—we should give every college in America the opportunity to be a part of it."

That prospect is a long way off. But it's also unlikely that the Republicans will completely scuttle direct lending. To do so would complicate their budget-cutting plans too much. And so it looks like some students will be able to get direct loans, while others with the same aspirations and financial needs will not. In a way, that is a fitting end to a reform process that was often defined by anything but logic. Clinton dreamed of passing a second G.I. Bill, of creating a broadly popular measure with profound consequences. What he got was something very different: a bright, attractive reform, unloved and almost unknown. LF

Steven Waldman is a national correspondent for Newsweek. *An earlier version of this article appeared in* The Washington Monthly.

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Pat Churchland, Neurophilosopher

Does a philosopher have any business handling brain tissue?

by Chris Lehmann

What if centuries of learned philosophical discussion were just wrong? Some version of this unsettling idea is stealing across the once-secure landscape of the philosophy of mind, with kindred fields such as epistemology and even ethics poised to fall under the spell of a science of the brain. The notion animating this heretical materialism is disarmingly, even beguilingly, simple, to listen to one of its most prominent and fearless exponents, Patricia Churchland. "My argument is that if you want to understand the nature of the mind," she says, "you have to understand the nature of the brain."

Although the aspiration to explain consciousness in corporeal terms may be nothing new, recent lab work has given this aspiration a more rigorous scaffolding. And in many ways Churchland epitomizes the ascendant logic that synthesizes philosophy and biology. A professor of philosophy at the University of California, San Diego, she also holds an appointment across the highway at the Salk Institute for Biological Studies, home to some of the leading research in the burgeoning experimental discipline of neuroscience. Her direct, and often slashing, style of argument and her command of a vast body of empirical brain data together invite the speculation that doing the philosophy of mind may, after all, be brain surgery.

It's a speculation she's quick to dis-

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Neuro*philosopher*

miss. She describes herself as "a very old-fashioned philosopher," and her work as "all in the line of what Hume and Locke and Kant were doing." Which is merely to say, she argues, that she is presenting a comprehensive, empirical theory of the mental activities of the brain, together with the persistent riddles of consciousness, self, and self-awareness.

Pat Churchland

PHOTO BY BECKY COHEN

■ ***Talk of the Churchlands often conjures up the image of a hybrid power couple—half the Curies, half Chairman and Madame Mao.***

But such protestations of innocence are somewhat disingenuous, and Churchland knows it. A former president of the Pacific division of the American Philosophical Association, she is a uniquely embattled figure in the field. She and her husband, Paul—also a professor at UCSD and a Salk associate—are a pair of neuroscientific *enfants terribles,* toppling the ideational furnishings in the sanctuary of latter-day philosophy. Indeed, talk of "the Churchlands" in some philosophical circles almost conjures up the image of a hybrid power couple—half the Curies, half Chairman and Madame Mao.

There's certainly little love lost between the neurophilosopher couple and the philosophy of mind they both imbibed, with mounting dissatisfaction, in graduate school. When Pat Churchland began her graduate work at Oxford in 1966, analytic philosophy held the British and American academy in its thrall. But she soon tired of its dogmatic insistence that mental properties could be rendered in sentences and reduced to language-based terminology. This approach turns the meaning of words into a "gold standard that can't change," she says.

And so Churchland turned to the study of medicine. When the Churchlands were still junior faculty members at the University of Manitoba, in 1969, she enrolled in courses on the central nervous system, as well as graduate seminars with Larry Jordan, a leading researcher in motor neuroscience. "Before we knew it," Paul Churchland recalls, "we had a whole circle of friends in neuroscience, and Pat was bringing home brains in Tupperware pots and putting them on the dining-room table while I was making dinner,

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saying, 'Paul, you've got to come out and look at this—go and get your microscope.'"

Pat Churchland has continued to pursue a deeply empirical—and practical—approach to problems of the brain. In 1991, she helped organize a conference on neurophilosophical and scientific research on Alzheimer's disease, sponsored by the Paris-based Ipsen Foundation for Therapeutic Research. Since co-writing *The Computational Brain* (MIT, 1992) with her Salk Institute colleague Terry Sejnowski, she has been collaborating with him on research into the brain's visual system. And she's also working with another Salk and UCSD neuroscientist, Vilayanur Ramachandran, on research into the neuronal properties of self-representation.

At its core, Churchland's work is premised on a bold hope: that neurobiological research will eventually allow an "intertheoretic reduction" of cognitive psychology to the terms of neuroscience. It is hard to hear the word "reduction" in any intellectual context and not groan. But as Churchland explicates the idea, it is a simple matter of bringing the older concepts of cognitive psychology into line with a new, neuronal understanding of the brain's operations. Summing up the reductive prospect in her book *Neurophilosophy* (MIT, 1986), she places neuroscience firmly in the driver's seat: "In short, it may well be that as neuroscience matures, it will change profoundly our conception of cognitive activity and therewith our epistemology."

Not surprisingly, this is a view that many neuroscientists eagerly endorse—notably the Nobel Prize winner Francis Crick, who is now the executive director of the Salk Institute. In his book *The Astonishing Hypothesis: The Scientific Search for the Soul* (Scribner's, 1994), Crick argued that all emotions, sensations, and orders of thought could be reduced to simple neuronal properties. Consciousness itself, he proposed, is a compound of "attention" and "short-term memory." He even claimed to have isolated (at least in part) the seat of free will in the brain, in the anterior cingulate sulcus.

■ *In Searle's view, the Churchlands fail to appreciate the singularity of introspection.*

Yet critics suggest that thinkers like Crick and the Churchlands drastically overestimate the intellectual reach of research into the brain. For Noam Chomsky, the Churchlands may be repeating the errors of the past. The "reduction" Pat Churchland describes, he says, is "surprising, misleading . . . about on a par with the proposal last century that . . . the properties of the periodic table [could be] reduced to the physics of the day, which turned out to be wrong." Chomsky adds: "One never knows in advance how two aspects of science—say, chemistry and physics of a century ago—are to be unified."

Philosophers still allied with analytic methods—who are quite well-represented in the American academy—also take a dim view of the Churchlands' methodology. John Searle, author of *The Rediscovery of Mind* (MIT, 1992), is among the couple's most vocal critics, having clashed with them in a host of venues, from academic conferences to British television. In his view, the Churchlands fail to appreciate the singularity of introspection, and pursue the materialist position to an illogical extreme. "The idea that you can reduce consciousness in the sense of getting an elimination of it seems to me a mistake," Searle says. "You can't reduce consciousness the way you can reduce rainbows or phlogiston"—by demonstrating, for example, that a rainbow is a momentary refraction of light, rather than an actual arc of color in the sky. "The other [cases] are based on distinctions between appearance and reality. In the case of consciousness, you can't make that distinction. If I feel something, you can't demonstrate that it's something that's not real."

The Churchlands have been fielding such criticism for a long time, and a distinct edginess enters into the conversation as they take up Searle's gauntlet one more time. "We do of course think there is a real phenomenon called consciousness," Pat Churchland says. "Searle systematically misunderstands us on that, even though we've had lots of conversations with him and explained it to him in patient detail. Obviously there's a real phenomenon—there's a real difference between being awake and being asleep. It's a big difference in the brain. It suits Searle's purposes to make our position into a straw man, but it's silly."

Fortunately for Pat Churchland, neuroscientists have made her feel more at home than philosophers. If anything, scientists seem to regard the Churchlands' controversial forecasts as a fait accompli. Crick, who helped recruit the Churchlands to the Salk Institute, likens their work to the DNA revolution he helped introduce into biology. He suggests that just as the discovery of DNA made it easy to answer the question "What is life?" so the findings of neuroscience may eliminate other "verbal questions." Point out that certain philosophers could not help but view such pronouncements as threats to their job prospects, and Crick replies with a

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Neuro*philosopher*

■ ***Churchland thinks that philosophical colleagues have been tougher on women than men. "They know what the politically correct thing to say is. But they're also quite happy to pull out the knives in very creative ways."***

slightly mischievous chuckle: "Oh yes, I know, I know. But there will always be things for philosophers to worry about. I think they'll just have to learn to worry about them in different ways."

Churchland, too, doesn't feel that her work will plunge professional philosophy into any great distress. Indeed, she sees philosophy as a natural activity of the brain, harnessed, like most such activities, to the evolutionary ends of biology. Churchland's view of knowledge owes much to American pragmatist thinkers, a debt she's quick to acknowledge. Philosophy and science are, she says, "part of what brains do in order to predict their environment." Both primates and humans are challenged with the basic quests for shelter, mates, and manageable social interactions. In the primitive conditions of nature, she says, "there's every reason in the world to want knowledge. So I just see philosophy as part of the general impetus and desire to understand. That's all it is. I don't see it as some highfalutin thing that allows you a special avenue to truth—namely via the a priori truths of Plato's heaven. I mean, *come on.*"

Churchland's pragmatic outlook also sets her in opposition to one of philosophy's more ignoble myths—that the getting and dispensing of wisdom is largely the business of men. Not that she confronts the discipline's troubled gender politics with any visible comfort, however. It's virtually the only occasion in a two-hour interview that she's at a loss for words. "It's very tricky," she says after a long pause. "It certainly is difficult being female. It's actually . . ." Trailing off into another silence, she observes her own mental hesitation: "I don't even like to talk about it. That's interesting."

She then goes on to talk about it at some length, in a tone of dispassionate observation made all the more striking by the sharpness of her remarks. "I think philosophical colleagues have been tougher [on women in the academy]. They know what the politically correct thing to say is. But they're also quite happy to pull out the knives in very creative ways."

Science, she suggests, may be a more accommodating field for women; at least it affords more straightforward ways of measuring their intellectual performance. In philosophy, by contrast, "so much depends on the nature of the debate. If you're a man, you're expected to do the heavy testosterone thing, right? You're expected to be aggressive, you're expected to handle the put-down, to be able to put down and so on."

Still, Churchland acknowledges that playing the science card in philosophical debates can also backfire: When a woman disputes a man's findings with hard data, "there certainly are men in the field who can't stand it," she points out. And such tensions work to reinforce an informal gender division of labor in the discipline. "I think lots of women within the field, they've had to try and find a safe area, where you aren't going to encounter these kinds of conflicts where you have to stand up to a silver-back gorilla and say, 'You're wrong, you're full of shit.' I think some people drift into ethics, or certain aspects of ethics, or find other ways of avoiding real head-to-head discussions. On the other hand, I also see women who are, you know, up and coming, who are willing to do it. But there's no doubt that you pay a big psychological price for it."

For all the strife, the Churchlands still delight in scandalizing the philosophical old guard. Not content with upending conventional wisdom in the philosophy of mind, both are turning to questions of morality and ethics. "The view that Pat and I have come to with regard to moral knowledge is that we're not moral skeptics," Paul Churchland says. "Moral knowledge is real, it's as real as scientific knowledge. But it's embodied in a way different from what most of the philosophic tradition and most of the religious traditions expect."

Some important features of moral judgment, they suggest, can be traced to the amygdala, a subcortical structure in the central part of the brain. Ethical philosophers can be counted to greet such suggestions with roughly the same hostility that accompanied some of the Churchlands' pronouncements on analytic philosophy. Moral reasoning is, after all, usually deemed the most rarefied of mental phenomena, far removed from the messy business of neurons, axons, and synapses.

But the Churchlands insist that their ethics are not revolutionary. Curiously, the new sciences of the nervous system have led them to endorse the old ethics of Aristotle, which stress a very scientifically congenial view of morality as a matter of skills acquisition and practical reason.

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■ *Important features of moral judgment, the Churchlands suggest, can be traced to a subcortical structure in the central part of the brain.*

"We don't usually think of perception as a skill, but it is," Paul Churchland explains in his patient, professorial manner. "And moral perception is one amongst many skills, one kind of pattern recognition."

"It's what Aristotle called character development," Pat Churchland interjects, moving the discussion onto more concrete ground. "One wants to have certain kinds of virtues, certain kinds of character. You want to be methodical, you want to be resourceful, you want to be sensible. Well, these are things Aristotle saw as part of habit formation, and, goddamnit, they *are* part of habit formation. They're part of the wiring frontally and in the amygdala, and in the somatosensory cortices. It's part of the wiring."

The Churchlands draw most of their evidence from experimental research. According to Antonio and Hanna Damasio, neuroscientists at the University of Iowa College of Medicine, damage to the amygdala—and to its connections to the frontal cortex—has produced in some human subjects a breakdown in the ability to feel fear or to respond appropriately to threatening situations. As a result, Pat Churchland says, the subjects "make all sorts of practical errors" in matters requiring ethical deliberation, particularly when they are in danger of being taken advantage of. Morality, this research suggests, is intimately bound up with the capacity to experience various emotions.

The implications of these findings are startling, especially for old philosophical issues. In the Enlightenment, Hume threw the age's faith in reason to the wind, arguing that most forms of deliberation—including ethical decisions—were determined by the passions. Not long afterward, Kant sought to codify the Enlightenment's rational outlook into a set of undeviating moral imperatives. In order to be truly moral, Kant argued, ethical reasoning had to issue purely from the subject's intentionality, free of any taint of passion.

"Many people since then have poohpoohed Hume," says Pat Churchland, "saying he's got it all wrong. It's very interesting that the empirical data are saying that Hume had it basically right—and that Kant had it basically wrong." And she adds, with a small undertone of relish, "This of course drives the Kantians wild."

As the Churchlands concede, the application of neuroscience to ethical problems promises to create a stir that will reach far beyond academic philosophy. For example, brain-damaged test subjects "have lost some dimension of what counts as normal moral or social comprehension," Paul Churchland says. Can they still be held responsible for their actions? The issue of reproductive choice, Pat argues, is another realm in which neuroscience might resolve problems and raise alarms. If "consciousness" can be given a precise definition, then it may be possible to discover when a fetus becomes "aware."

There seems, indeed, to be no question that the Churchlands don't think neuroscientists will eventually be able to settle. It's a faith that

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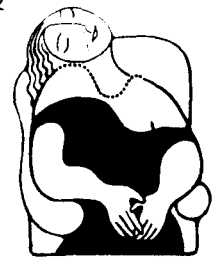

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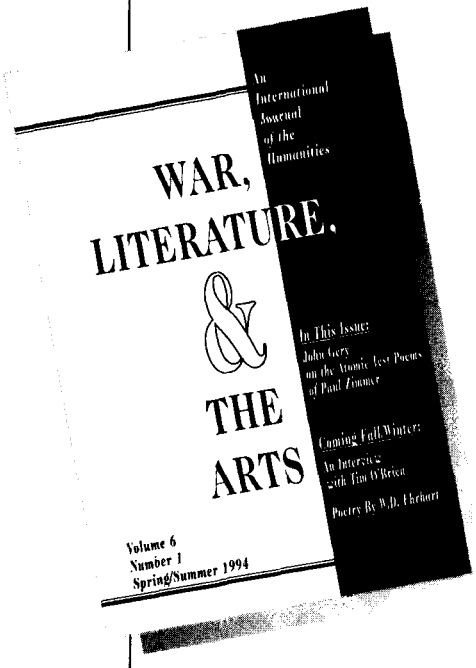

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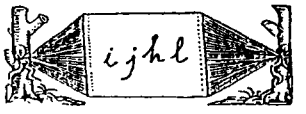

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Down & Out in the British University

The ax that hovers over American higher education has already fallen in Britain. John Sutherland inspects the damage, and tells how it all came about.

Say "British university" and Americans will see in their mind's eye dreaming spires, Tom and Viv in a punt, Charles and Sebastian listening to the chimes at midnight—in a word, Oxford. So, too, would the average Briton. Of the 204 novels with a British university setting published between 1945 and 1988, no fewer than 119 are set at Oxford, and the preeminence of the university is routinely confirmed by films and TV mini-series—*A Yank at Oxford*, *Oxford Blues*, *Brideshead Revisited*.

Oxford's domination of British life goes beyond imagery. The university has controlled the corridors of British political power in the postwar period as overwhelmingly as it monopolizes the pages of campus fiction (even if the current British cabinet is dominated by a so-called Cambridge Mafia and the prime minister never went to university). If you want to know why—in a country whose road system is the laughing stock of Europe—Oxford has two freeways connecting it with London, examine the pedigrees of the transport ministers over the last three decades.

Whatever Oxford's clubbiness and insularity, it is fair to say that the university's ideals—intimacy, security, pas-

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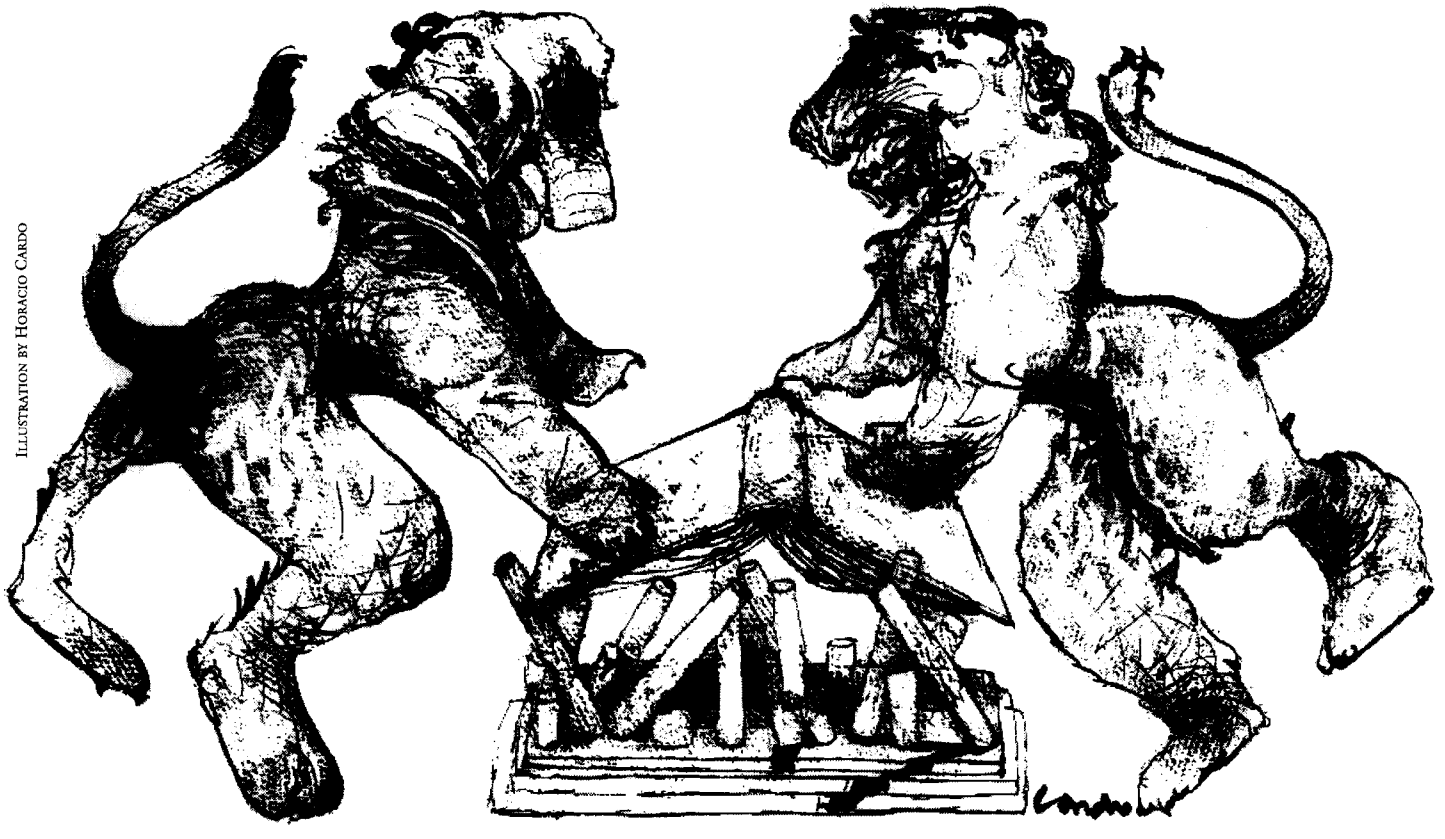
toralism, and the tending of scholarship—account for the most admirable aspect of British university life. Those ideals, however, are currently under siege. In recent years, the Oxford system—and its various incarnations throughout Britain—has collided with rising enrollments, falling budgets, and a hostile government. As a result, tenure has been abolished, student funding drastically reduced, and Britain's once-intimate classrooms have doubled in size. Morale among academics is famously low—at least among those who haven't left the country altogether. And now, the Conservative government is trying to invent a new species of no-frills school that will be high in efficiency and low in cost.

UNDER TORY RULE, TENURE HAS BEEN ABOLISHED, STUDENT FUNDING DRASTICALLY REDUCED, AND BRITAIN'S ONCE-INTIMATE CLASSROOMS HAVE DOUBLED IN SIZE.

Although the principles of British higher education may appear timeless, they were in fact formulated in the mid-nineteenth century. The first of these is Matthew Arnold's credo that the role of the university is to spread "sweetness and light": Its primary function is not to educate the masses, but rather to articulate, in the most beautiful form, the cultural ideals by which a great civilization expresses itself. Arnold's belief that universities exist to incarnate the country's best self rather than to instruct its youth accounts for the complacency with which Britain has typically regarded its small numbers of higher-education seekers. In the postwar period the figure has hovered around 12 percent and has only very recently broken the 20 percent barrier. The British, traditionally, have never minded having a college population smaller than Bulgaria's. It is not the job of universities to be educational factories mass-producing bachelors of arts and



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Down & Out

sciences. Leave that to the Californians.

Linked to Arnoldian "sweetness and light" is the preferred pedagogic technique in British higher education—the tutorial, which takes place in a collegiate environment where pastoral care is an overriding concern. It was the renowned classicist Benjamin Jowett, at Oxford's Balliol College in the 1870s, who persuaded the university to adopt the one-to-one meeting, in which a personal relationship develops alongside that of master and pupil. As Jowett argued, the tutorial was not only an efficient way of teaching, it also encouraged moral growth and the formation of "character." And the tutorial ethos (even where it has been modified into some variant of small-group teaching) explains the remarkable intimacy of British universities: Their average size, including faculty and students, is less than 6,000. In fact, even this figure (suggesting as it does a small market-town) is misleading, since most schools break down into much smaller communities. At its work-floor level, British higher education can be seen as a network of villages, with all the close social and personal relations of village life.

One-to-one and small-group teaching inspire an exaggerated concern for the well-being of individual students. Few established universities have dropout rates higher than 5 percent. And heroic efforts are made to "save" students who are in danger of slipping, or in danger of failing their degree. For the student who has failed or performed badly, examinations are given again and medical explanations are actively sought. Even though their funding has recently been slashed, British undergraduates have also traditionally enjoyed a financial security that is unrivaled in the Western world and scarcely matched by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. The state pays all undergraduate fees and throws in a subsistence grant equivalent to a working-person's living wage—or at least it did until 1989, when that grant was substantially reduced.

A MOOD OF MOCKERY WAS IN THE AIR. UPPER-CLASS TWITS (AS MONTY PYTHON PEGGED THEM) WERE WIDELY BLAMED FOR BRITISH DECLINE. AND BRITAIN'S SUEZ HUMILIATION WAS SEIZED UPON TO EMBARRASS THE DONS AND THEIR ALLIES.

The story of Britain's educational revolution—and its current crisis—begins with the Second World War. As in America, Britain recognized a debt to its returning wartime heroes. In the United States, that debt was largely paid off by the G.I. Bill; in Britain, by the Labor Party's ambitious welfare state, which included the opening up of education. A first step, the 1944 Education Act, offered clever working-class kids a realistic chance of going to a good secondary school. Success in a nationwide examination given at age eleven qualified between 20 and 30 percent of examinees for a place in a "grammar school." What this meant practically was that these students would be able to receive an extra three years of education and take the exams for university admission. (Working-class parents, like my own, continued to call this "eleven-plus" exam by the old prewar term, "the scholarship"—the system by which a tiny fraction of working-class prodigies were admitted to grammar schools.)

By the mid-1950s, a meritocratic cohort of gifted youngsters was battering the gates of the universities. And they had little sentimental attachment to the elite schools and their venerable traditions. A mood of mocking the old ways was in the air. Upper-class twits (as Monty Python memorably pegged them) were widely blamed for British decline. And Britain's Suez humiliation—attributable in large part to the ineffable stupidity of the Oxbridge-cabinet axis—was seized upon to embarrass the dons and their allies.

Unlike their American counterparts, however, British universities were disinclined toward expansion on the grounds that nature had never intended them to be big. And so, in an effort to resolve the problem, Harold Macmillan's government commissioned a report from the well-known civil servant Lord Robbins in 1958. Robbins looked abroad—to France, to the Soviet Union (where he found much to praise), and to the United States—and concluded that higher education ought to be a right, not a privilege. There followed a massive (by British standards) program of construction, expansion, and diversification. Twenty universities were built, among them those of East Anglia, Sussex, and Essex.

For a time, many of the new colleges experimented with strange "American" ideas such as course grades and broad-based distribution requirements. (The latter was a challenge to the traditional British "single-honors" degree, which produces graduates who can discourse learnedly on, say, *Paradise Regained* while knowing nothing of quadratic equations.) But the newfangled reforms did not catch on (major employers of "first class" graduates in the government and the banking world did not

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altogether like them), and they were, for the most part, quietly dropped within a few years. British higher education seemed like funny putty, the British child's plasticine toy which, however you pull at it, eventually returns to its original shape.

Robbins's reforms went a long way toward satisfying the popular desire for high-quality education. Unfortunately, they also coincided with the student unrest that was disrupting France, Germany, and the United States. Though the sympathetic convulsions in Britain were relatively minor, they were sufficient to convince Tory politicians (who were occasionally assaulted with eggs and tomatoes when they visited university Conservative clubs) that the campuses—particularly the new ones—were hotbeds of Marxism. For a brief period, it seemed that ultraconservatives were in an unholy alliance with Maoists and Trotskyists—one faction wanting to destroy the university from Westminster, the other from the inside. As tensions mounted, Conservative politicians began giving more credence to the "Black Papers," an arch-reactionary faction formed in opposition to the new schools.

In the mid-Seventies, British higher education found itself in a state of extraordinary confusion. Robbins's "new universities" had lost—together with their novelty—most of their original energy and sense of direction. Meanwhile, the vocational polytechnic schools suffered from chronic underfunding and a crippling sense of inferiority. And the old municipal universities ("redbrick" institutions, such as those at Manchester, Birmingham, Leicester, and Nottingham) felt neglected and unfashionable. Oxford and Cambridge, however, carried on much as they always had.

A simple reading of history would be that Britain got its Newt Gingrich in 1979 with Mrs. Thatcher's victory. The Tories inherited an economy in shambles—still reeling from the oil shock, double-digit inflation, and the catastrophic miners' strike of 1973-74. And desperate remedies were in order. It was not necessarily desirable, the Thatcherites believed, to fund everyone's education. And in any case, the commandment to shrink the budget must override all more lofty concerns.

IT WASN'T LONG BEFORE THATCHER'S EDUCATION MINISTER BEGAN A PROGRAM OF "STRENGTH THROUGH STARVATION."

It wasn't long before Sir Keith Joseph, Thatcher's education minister, began a program of "strength through starvation," or "cuts," as they were universally called. Over the last sixteen years of unbroken Conservative rule, the funding of universities has been reduced, faculty-student ratios have been doubled (from 1:8 to 1:17), and dons "proletarianized." University teachers have fallen down the earnings ladder. Before the Second World War, a lecturer earned at least twice the average national wage; now he or she barely keeps up with it. And British students—once so generously supported by the state—have suffered proportionately. Since 1991, undergraduate grants, first frozen, have been progressively cut (this year alone by 10 percent). Students have been encouraged to compensate with loans, and now routinely graduate about $6,000 in debt—something almost unheard of a few years ago.

Not surprisingly, there has been a

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Down & Out

constant brain drain of British talent to the United States (particularly in the sciences). Emigration has been fueled not merely by the attraction of better salaries but by the desire to escape an increasingly drab, overcrowded, and stressful academic environment. And stressful it is: Britain is, I imagine, the only country in the developed world in the last fifteen years to have closed down universities (London's Westfield College and Bedford College) as an act of government policy.

For a while it seemed that the Conservative government's particular hostility to the universities was motivated by small-minded revenge for all the eggs, tomatoes, and Marxist rhetoric of the past. The University of Essex, for instance, had made itself particularly unpopular by offering dormitory accommodations to the striking coal miners in 1974. And there was a general feeling that such dissidence must be punished—hence the relish with which cuts were implemented (even if the Tories did not go as far as turning Essex into an agricultural college, as the ultraright-wing *Daily Telegraph* advocated).

Over the last four years, however, a long-term aim has finally emerged from this ministerial sadism. Having starved all the fight out of the universities, the Department of Education and Science (DES) has embarked on a swift program of reformation; and this reformation turns out to be a double-edged sword. Offering the illusion of equality, the Tories have, in fact, worked to install new academic hierarchies. The elusive dream of extending an Oxford-style education to the general population has been abandoned for good.

The DES's first move was to abolish the so-called binary system by which polytechnics and other schools were deemed inferior to the universities. As a result, there are now some eighty-eight British "universities," all competing on the same "level" funding field. This egalitarian phase, however, was merely transitional. The DES's next move was to institute a systemwide review of administrative efficiency ("quality audit") and of teaching and research ("quality assessment"). In the political slogan of the day, "funding follows excellence," and inevitably more of it goes to the more established institutions. The playing field is once again uneven, but in ways that suit the DES much better.

OFFERING THE ILLUSION OF EQUALITY, THE TORIES HAVE, IN FACT, WORKED TO INSTALL NEW ACADEMIC HIERARCHIES.

What is happening—and clearly what the government intended to happen—is that a British Ivy League of about ten universities is emerging. And it is this select group that can expect to receive the bulk of government research funding in the future. Excellence will be preserved, and the treasury will save money by directing its funds to an exclusive few. Surrounding this "golden nucleus" will be a mammoth, potentially expendable, structure of "teaching factories," with a minimal commitment to research, and with students who are "self-financed" through loans. Recent moves toward "semesterization" (hitherto looked down on as un-British) suggest that the government is also toying with year-round teaching and two-year undergraduate degrees at those schools. The bulk of university teachers will find themselves in these new teaching factories, with a corresponding loss of professional caste, comfort, and intellectual self-esteem.

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Down & Out

Like their American colleagues, middle-aged British academics are a gloomy bunch, complaining about the job market whenever they can. But there's an interesting difference. In America, at least until recently, dissatisfaction has been aimed at the slump in positions for new graduates—other people's jobs, that is. In Britain, most professors over the age of thirty-five are worried less about their graduate students' careers (which are no better or worse than they have always been) than their own academic prospects. "Will I be caught up in the next round of early retirements?" they ask themselves, expecting the worst.

This isn't the sort of grumbling that British academics are accustomed to. In the final scene of his 1969 TV series, *Civilization*, Sir Kenneth Clark ambled through the meadows of one of Britain's new campuses, the University of East Anglia, and delivered an enthusiastic sermon on the lasting value of culture and higher education. Behind him were the university's spotless new buildings—ziggurats, chunky towers, and elevated walkways. There was nothing romantic about the architecture—it's not Oxford—but even so, sweetness and light and pastoral care were much in evidence. The nineteenth-century principles of Arnold and Jowett had, so it seemed, been successfully fused with the meritocratic ideals of the Robbins report.

These days, the University of East Anglia provides a different sort of backdrop. Clark's gleaming university of the future is defunded and in disrepair, its mammoth concrete slabs cracking apart. And the pedagogical enthusiasms of the mid-Sixties, to say nothing of sweetness and light, have all but vanished. It is hard to imagine the producers of *Civilization* setting their rousing finale at a British university today

John Sutherland teaches English literature at University College London and at the California Institute of Technology.

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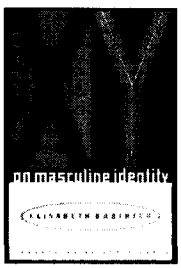

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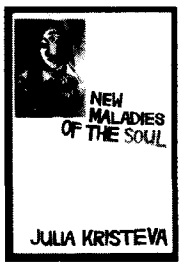

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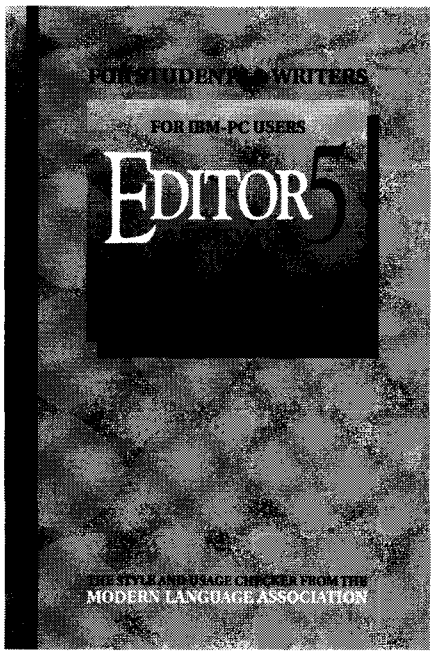

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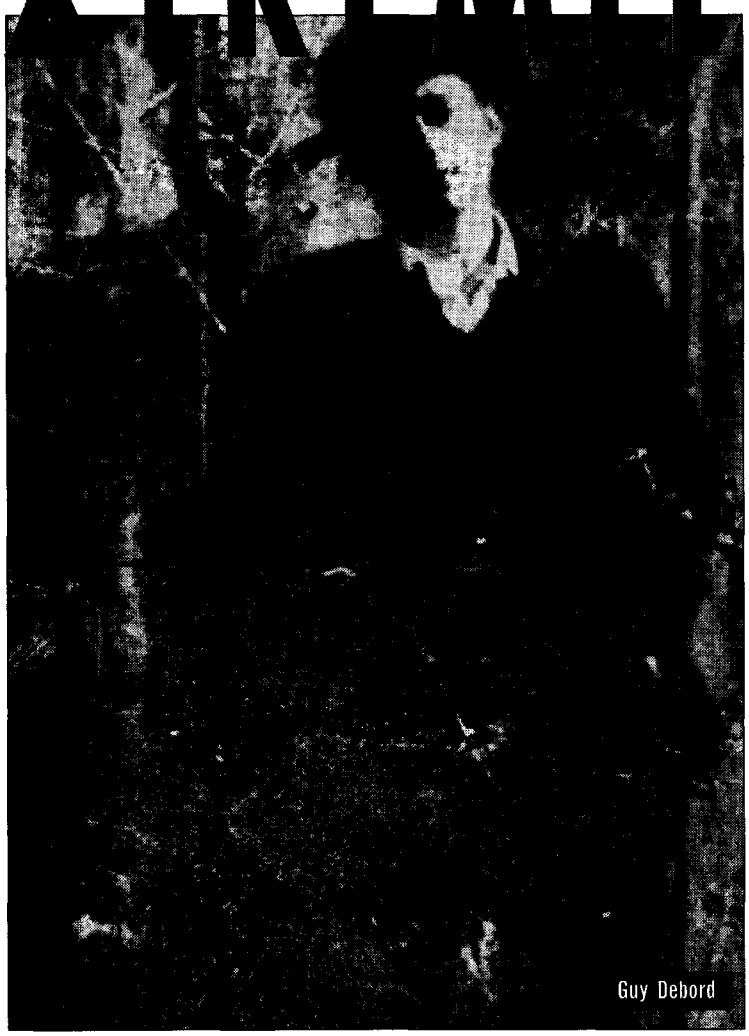
The Shrouded Life of an Intellectual Provocateur



Guy Debord

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By Scott McLemee

There were no readers of avant-garde cultural theory working the Associated Press morgue files the day Guy Debord's suicide was announced in early December. So one gathers, anyway, from the sublimely confused account of his ideas and reputation the AP sent out in its dispatch. Debord's body was discovered on December 1 at his home in southern France; the day before, the author of *The Society of the Spectacle* had shot himself to death. "Little known outside France," the AP guessed, "Debord denounced what he called 'the show biz society' and declared that performing arts should be based on powerful emotions, passions and sexual desire."

An obituary that would, no doubt, have amused the deceased. Founder and *maître penseur* of the Situationist

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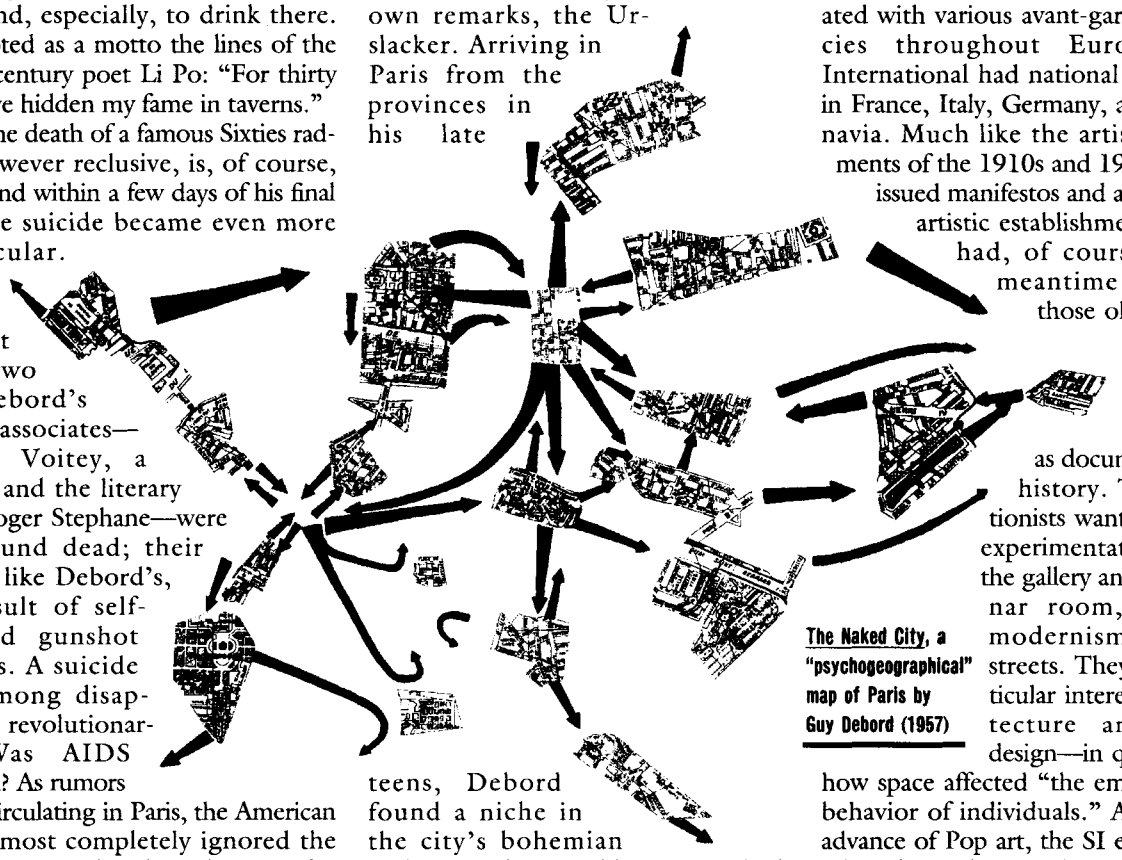
PROPHET OF EXTREMITY

International—a tiny gang of revolutionary aesthetes and ultraleft visionaries, which played a disproportionately influential role in the May 1968 student uprising that almost brought down the French government—Debord preferred to think in the shadows. And, especially, to drink there. He quoted as a motto the lines of the eighth-century poet Li Po: "For thirty years I've hidden my fame in taverns."

But the death of a famous Sixties radical, however reclusive, is, of course, news. And within a few days of his final exit, the suicide became even more spectacular. Over the next week, two of Debord's closest associates—Gérard Voitey, a notary, and the literary critic Roger Stephane—were also found dead; their deaths, like Debord's, the result of self-inflicted gunshot wounds. A suicide pact among disappointed revolutionaries? Was AIDS involved? As rumors began circulating in Paris, the American press almost completely ignored the events. But Debord readers on the Internet here quickly began their own speculations—including, perhaps inevitably, dark hints that suicides can be faked. The powers that be might well have wanted Debord dead, given the subversive potential of his ideas . . .

Well, maybe. But probably not. Debord always loathed, and carefully avoided, the publicity machine of French intellectual life, instead working out his blend of Hegelian-Marxist theory and dadaist cultural terrorism in a demimonde of barflies, criminals, and utopian co-conspirators, a sizable number of whom had been incarcerated, at one time or another, in prisons and madhouses. In an autobiographical essay, Debord wrote, "On the matter of violent death, I will note, without being able to put forward a fully rational explanation of the phenomenon, that the number of my friends who have been killed by bullets constitutes an uncommonly high percentage."

Debord was, one gathers from his own remarks, the Ur-slacker. Arriving in Paris from the provinces in his late teens, Debord found a niche in the city's bohemian underground. "I could not even think of studying for one of the learned professions that lead to holding down a job," he recalled, "for all of them seemed completely alien to my tastes or contrary to my opinions." His gift as provocateur was evident in his first film, *Howlings in Favor of Sade* (1952), made when he was twenty-one. This was anti-cinema at its purest: a black screen, with occasional bursts of white light, was accompanied by a soundtrack of seemingly random bits of prose, verse, conversation, and excerpts from the French legal code ("Article 488. The age of majority is fixed at twenty-one years; at that age one is capable of all acts of civil life"), punctuated throughout by periods of complete silence ranging from thirty seconds to twenty-four minutes.



The Naked City, a "psychogeographical" map of Paris by Guy Debord (1957)

Debord's participation in the cultural underground culminated, in 1957, with the formation of the Situationist International, a group of a few dozen artists and writers who had been affiliated with various avant-garde tendencies throughout Europe. The International had national "sections" in France, Italy, Germany, and Scandinavia. Much like the artistic movements of the 1910s and 1920s, the SI issued manifestos and attacked the artistic establishment—which had, of course, in the meantime absorbed those old aesthetic radicalisms and treated their manifestos as documents of art history. The Situationists wanted to blast experimentation out of the gallery and the seminar room, carrying modernism into the streets. They took particular interest in architecture and urban design—in questions of how space affected "the emotions and behavior of individuals." And well in advance of Pop art, the SI experimented with stealing and reconfiguring images from comic strips and advertising ("*détournement*").

For his part, aside from making a few more movies, Debord was busy detourning cultural and political theory in the movement's journal, *L'Internationale Situationniste*. Borrowing heavily from the young Marx's analysis of alienation under capitalism—and stealing ideas outright from Georg Lukács, Henri Lefebvre, and Cornelius Castoriadis, among others—Debord created a collage of utopian revolutionary ideology, more akin to anarchism than to anything associated with any sort of Leninism. Spontaneous rebellion at the workplace and against everyday banality would eventually explode into revolu-

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tion. A new society would be founded on the power of workers' councils—and creativity would "realize" art, not as a specialized activity separate from ordinary life, but as a basic human need. The world would turn upside down.

In the meantime, there was drinking to do. Later in life, Debord noted, "I have been continuously drunk for periods of several months; and the rest of the time, I still drank a lot." And he was a mean drunk. When Debord quarreled with friends and comrades—as he seems to have done regularly, and with polemical gusto, from the 1950s onward—the splits were absolute. Such breaks were called "exclusions"; and the history of the SI is one of frequent, rather gleeful internal purges.

Yet by the mid-1960s—almost in spite of itself—the SI's ideas began to find an audience within the radical counterculture, in Europe and beyond. Before finding its members excluded in late 1967, the Situationist cell in England included Marxist art historian, and current Berkeley professor, T.J. Clark. In the United States, Situationist ideas played a part in the creation of a New York group whose name (certainly) stands out in the annals of American radicalism: the Up Against the Wall Motherfuckers. And the greatest *coup* came in 1966, when a handful of sympathizers were elected to the head of the French students' association at the University of Strasbourg. They spent the treasury publishing and distributing *On the Poverty of Student Life*, a tract composed by a Situationist theorist after the students proved too passive to write one themselves; it is a ferocious and at times hilariously satirical analysis of campus politics and culture. The use of student government money to print the pamphlet created a scandal, which in turn naturally increased the work's appeal. It was promptly translated into half a dozen languages, and has had a total print run, worldwide, of half a million copies.

Debord worked out his blend of Hegelian-Marxist theory and dadaist cultural terrorism in a demimonde of barflies, criminals, and utopian co-conspirators.

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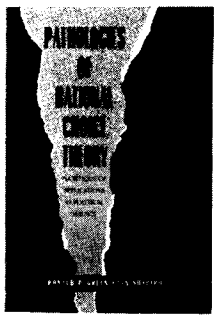

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PROPHET OF EXTREMITY

Debord's own theoretical summa, *The Society of the Spectacle,* appeared in late 1967—issued by a publisher who accepted the manuscript on the misapprehension, shared by the Associated Press, that "spectacle" meant "show biz." But Debord's pun was more inclusive than that: The book was an updating of Marxist theory to include the whole of mass communications. According to Marx, everything under capitalism becomes a commodity. Under "the society of the spectacle," consciousness itself becomes a commodity, produced and manipulated by corporations and states. As industrial societies become more affluent, everyday life is impoverished of meaning; but instead of revolting, the worker is encouraged to consume not just products but lifestyles, images, entertainment, and ideology.

Debord's grand concept of "the spectacle" embraced the cultural representations typical of advanced capitalism (advertising, fads, gadgetry) and of Communist-bloc bureaucracy (show trials, propaganda, mass rallies). In either case, the populace remained inert, transfixed. "The spectacle," he wrote, "is the sun that never sets on the empire of modern passivity." Come the revolution, that spectacle would be smashed; people would quit consuming and begin living.

Debord's book was, as *L'Internationale Situationniste* later reported happily, "among the most frequently stolen from bookstores in 1968." And when, in the spring of that year, student unrest began to foment in Paris, members of the Enragés, a group close to the SI, were among the most intransigent radicals. Many of the slogans that went up on walls, in graffiti or on posters, had a distinctly Situationist ring: "All power to the imagination!" "Boredom is counter-revolutionary." "Take your desires for reality." Detourned comic strips circulated, with the balloons filled in with theses from *The Society of the Spectacle.* As one French media consultant said at the time, "They are fighting advertising on its own terrain, with its own weapons."

As the revolution ebbed, the Situationists suddenly found themselves surrounded by adherents and would-be members (in SI jargon, "pro-situs"). The group had been transformed from a virtual nonentity into an international legend. Debord hated it. When he withdrew from the production of *L'Internationale Situationniste*, the journal rapidly disappeared. In 1972, amid the usual acrimony, the International dissolved.

The subsequent history of Situationism has been, if anything, even more improbable than its trajectory from sectarian isolation to radical-chic fame. As Greil Marcus chronicles in *Lipstick Traces: A Secret History of the Twentieth Century* (Harvard, 1989), the Situationist critique of mass culture and everyday boredom found its way into British punk through Malcolm McLaren. (Johnny Rotten's snarling question "Ever get the feeling you've been cheated?" pretty neatly paraphrases Debord's early cinematic experiments.) Well before Jean Baudrillard staked his claim as postmodern theorist, he was exactly the sort of academic "pro-situ" Debord delighted in baiting. Few of his enthusiasts—or for that matter, critics—in the United States have recognized how much of Baudrillard's work is a reformulation of *The Society of the Spectacle,* minus the utopian revolutionism. Within radical circles around the world, Debord's books and other Situationist texts now have a classic status—and if you wander into the right coffeehouse, it might still be possible to pick up an argument about the merits of this or that "exclusion."

With the unsolved murder of his friend and patron, Gérard Lebovici, in 1984, Debord announced that he would no longer permit his films to be exhibited. He withdrew to the countryside, where he wrote a few short works including *Comments on "The Society of the Spectacle"* (1988) and *Panegyric* (1989), a slender and melancholic volume of autobiographical essays. The latter is an elegantly written, even haunting book. Stubbornly taciturn about incidents and people—with no explicit discussion of "the events of May '68"—its tone is unmistakably mournful, suffused with grief for dead comrades, broken relations, unfinished revolutions.

The more familiar, bitterly polemical Debord is in evidence throughout *Comments on "The Society of the Spectacle"*—which seems, at moments, brushed by the wing of madness. "Since art is dead, it has evidently become extremely easy to disguise police as artists," Debord writes; ". . . a cultural cover is guaranteed for every agent or auxiliary of the state's networks of persuasion. Empty pseudo-museums, or pseudo-research centers on the work of non-existent personalities, can be opened just as fast as reputations are made for journalist-cops, historian-cops, or novelist-cops." If Philip K. Dick had abandoned science fiction and taken up cultural theory instead, he might have written this book.

Perhaps the final blow to the old Situationist project of overthrowing the official culture came in the early 1990s, when Debord allowed Gallimard to reprint his books. This was a rare concession to the French intellectual mainstream. But it meant his works became "literature," something he never wanted them to be. Debord's writings—with their shifts between utopian lyricism and polemical evisceration, their refinement and lucidity of style, and the theoretical rigor of their cynicism—are strewn with land mines. He was unrelentingly critical of those who praised his work, "as if they were capable of reading it . . ."

***Society of the Spectacle* was among the most frequently stolen books in 1968.**

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Over the years following the publication of *The Society of the Spectacle*, Debord noted with sarcasm "the appearance and replacement of six or seven generations of thinkers, each more definitive than the last." He didn't want that sort of renown; indeed, he scarcely even seems to have wanted readers. But he got them anyway. Had his best efforts fed the very spectacular culture he hated? Did he take his own life in despair at the thought that the failure of revolution had obliterated his work? Or from the contemptuous realization that it was already a classic? The answer is probably moot. For as a voice in Debord's first film says—while the screen is blank, and the audience's patience disappears—"The perfection of suicide is in ambiguity." LF

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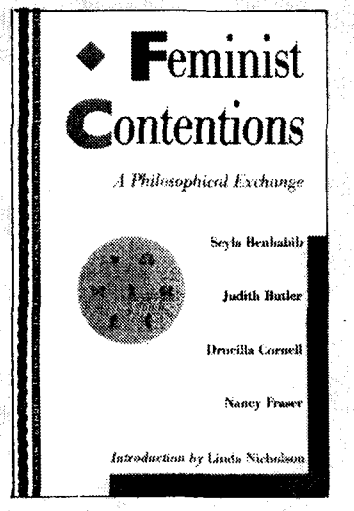

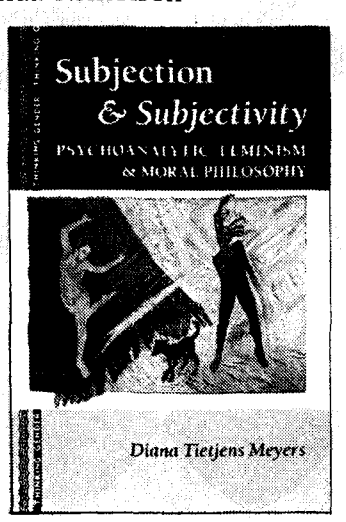

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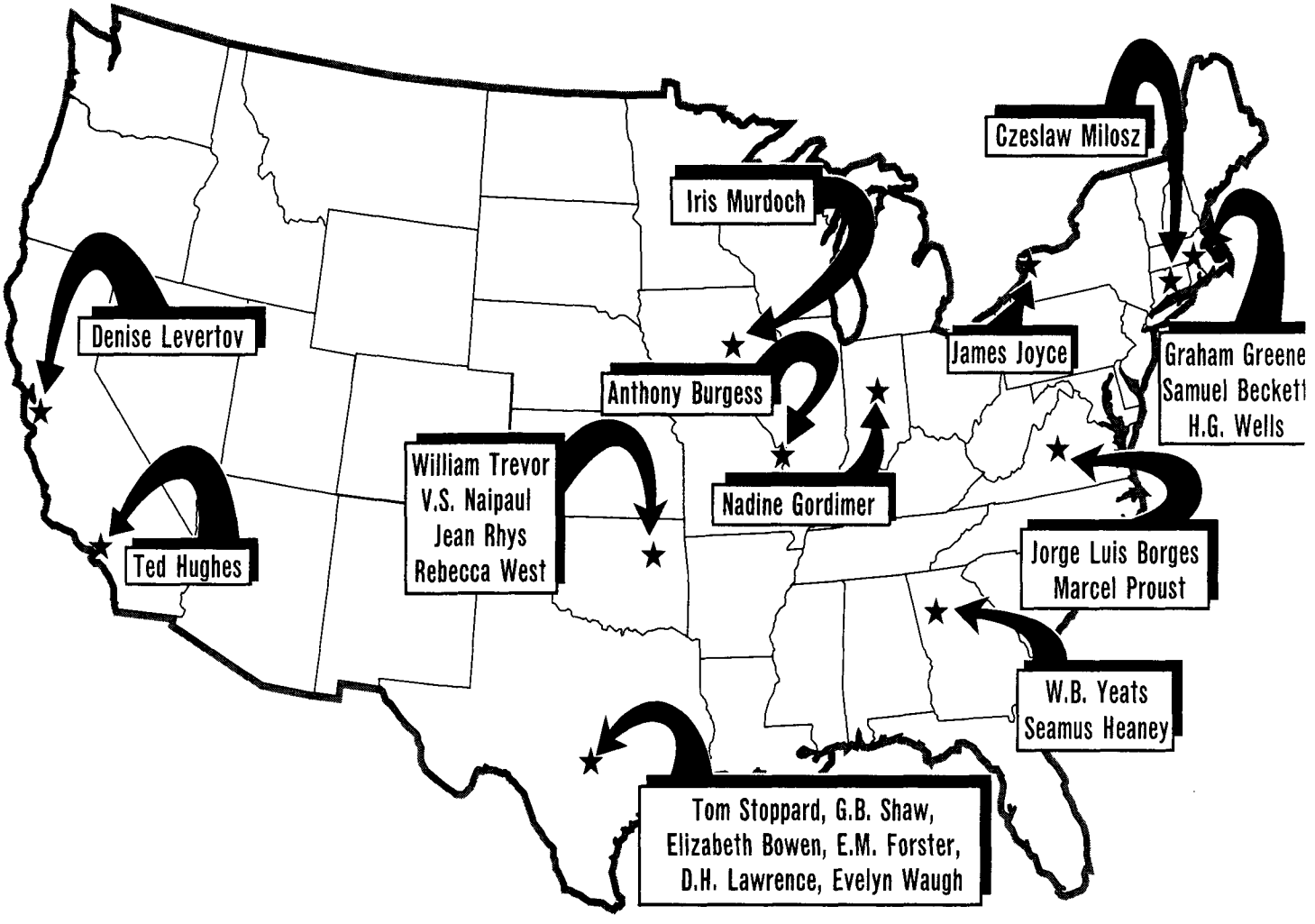
THE ENIGMA OF ARRIVAL



When Harold Pinter patriotically deposited his personal archives last fall with the British Library in London, he distanced himself from his peers—by more than 6,000 miles. After all, as Pinter knew, fellow playwrights Tom Stoppard, John Osborne, and David Hare had just shipped their manuscripts overseas to the University of Texas, Austin. In doing so, these writers succumbed to what poet Philip Larkin called "that irresistible gravitational westward pull," a force that every year transplants major (and minor) parts of the British canon to increasingly incongruous American locales.

Through a potent mix of money and scholarly desire, American universities have captured an unprecedented global paper trail. Iris Murdoch's papers have landed in Iowa; V.S. Naipaul now finds himself sharing shelf space with Jean Rhys in Oklahoma, at the University of Tulsa. Boston recently bought 60,000 Graham Greene letters, and Texas just snatched up his dream diaries. UCLA has acquired Ted Hughes. And it's not only British writers who are stamping AIR MAIL on their storage boxes: Nadine Gordimer scholars must schedule flights not to Johannesburg but to Bloomington, Indiana, where her complete archive resides at the Lilly Library.

How did American libraries amass so much foreign literary material? Most American curators say that the British allowed the modern corpus to simply slip out of their hands. "It was apathy, pure laziness," chides Howard Gotleib of Boston University. A Midwest curator calls it "a failure of foresight." Sally

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Brown, curator of modern manuscripts at the British Library, agrees. Until recently, she says, fusty Oxbridge scholars deemed it proper to collect papers only of the "eminent dead"—for all they cared, the archives of the living could rot in attics, waiting decades for literary reputations to suddenly secure themselves. Indiana archives director William Cagle, who received a doctorate at Oxford in the 1950s, recalls that students at the time "couldn't work on anyone after Wordsworth. Anyone else was too modern."

But there's also another explanation: The acquisition of archives has become an increasingly commercial enterprise, and dozens of American institutions collectively spend millions of dollars each year to bring home the best scholarly fodder. Armed with enough money to overwhelm any nativist impulse, American universities first began seducing modern British writers in the Fifties with the promise of a cool, humidity-controlled immortality. Rather than wait for what Gotleib scornfully calls "the patina of time," American curators adopted a speculative approach. As Kevin Ray of Washington University in St. Louis puts it, libraries in the United States made it their mission to "document culture as it happens, rather than letting the chips fall where they may." The result: Thomas Staley, director of Texas's stadium-sized Ransom Humanities Center, boasts that he now has so complete a collection of English moderns that Texas has become *the* archive of record. "John Fowles asked me to give him three reasons why he should place his manuscripts here. I said, 'James Joyce, D.H. Lawrence, and Graham Greene.' It worked," says Staley, laughing.

Staley's name game is a bit misleading, however. For, like most institutions' archives, those at the University of Texas are far from complete. They have Forster, for example, but only the drafts of *A Passage to India;* they have Fowles, but Tulsa owns the papers for *The French Lieutenant's Woman.* Even their mammoth Evelyn Waugh archive, with manuscripts for more than one hundred of his works, has significant lacunae: A private collector made off with the drafts for *Vile Bodies,* for example. Indeed, only in rare cases does the complete archive of an author end up in one place. (Of course, it's impossible to bring together everything that flows from a writer's pen—for example, letters between Vladimir Nabokov and Edmund Wilson can't end up in both collections.)

Armed with enough money to overwhelm any nativist impulse, American universities first began seducing modern British writers in the Fifties with the promise of a cool, humidity-controlled immortality.

Though special collections curators talk about carefully assembling a jigsaw puzzle, some of the pieces are inevitably grabbed by other schools. Accordingly, James Joyce's manuscripts and papers are scattered among Texas, Tulsa, SUNY-Buffalo, Cornell, Boston College, and the National Library of Ireland. Those who wish to study Graham Greene will likewise need to crisscross the United States. The most difficult itinerary is posed by George Bernard Shaw: There are major collections at Texas, Boston, the British Library, and—don't ask how—the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand.

Although this global scattering might seem to damage literary scholarship, most curators are not worried. While globe-trotting can be expensive, out-of-the-way libraries make many fellowships available and often provide free lodging. (About half of the scholars using American archives are foreign.) And in this age of microfilm and photocopies, most scholars have come to feel that location doesn't really matter much anymore. British scholar Michael Holroyd, who spent considerable time at the Ransom Center penning his biography of George Bernard Shaw, has no problems with archives being beyond physical reach, "as long as photocopies are made available," he says. Further helping matters, several archives—such as the Dante Rossetti archive at UVA and the James Joyce manuscripts at SUNY-Buffalo—should soon be available to computer users through multimedia sites on the World Wide Web. What matters most, scholars on both sides of the Atlantic agree, is that the records of important artists are safely preserved. Toni Morrison, who has yet to place her papers with any institution, almost lost her manuscripts in a fire two years ago; Charles Dickens's papers met that very fate, and, according to Gotleib, "that's why there's not a single decent biography of him."

If American curators are right to blame the British for their past shortsightedness, our institutions are open to the charge of being overzealous. The baggy monster archive, with everything from coffee-stained drafts to canceled checks fetishistically deacified, catalogued, and preserved, is largely a modern American invention. Before mid-century, says Patricia Willis of Yale, libraries thought to preserve only "pretty manuscripts and first editions." This new obsessive ethic has spawned a parallel desire—to document everyone and everything having to do with contemporary letters.

To say the least, you hardly need a Nobel to attract some American curator's eye. Boston University, for example, has taken compendiousness

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THE ENIGMA OF ARRIVAL

to extremes, and has amassed full or partial archives of more than 1,200 twentieth-century writers from more than a dozen countries. "We cast a wide net," Gotleib admits. Too large to be a *Who's Who* of contemporary literature, Boston's roster might be better called the *Who's That?* collection. Samuel Beckett and H.G. Wells highlight the list, but the vast majority of names are obscurities like John David Bee and Dorothy Uhnak. As any archivist can tell you, though, it's not always the best-known authors who have the most interesting archives—and in an age when historically detailed scholarship dominates the critical landscape, why not collect it all? We have the room. Look at it this way: Unlike today's frustrated Elizabethan sleuths, future scholars will have no problem uncovering the attitudes and ideologies of our age—as long as they're willing to wade through miles of dross.

The British, for their part, are slowly coming around to the American point of view. Back at the British Library, Sally Brown has tried to learn from success stories like Texas, which she calls "a friendly rival." Though it is still considered "somewhat vulgar to ask someone for their archives," Brown does so nowadays "without hesitation." The Pinter triumph was the product of direct solicitation; at a recent party, Brown got Margaret Drabble to agree to place her future archives at the library. And she's got her eye on the manuscripts of young poet and Larkin biographer Andrew Motion. But here's the most promising sign that the Brits are back in the game: The National Heritage Fund, the governmental body that finances acquisitions, is about to have its checkbook bolstered by one of the most lucrative of schemes—a new national lottery. —*Daniel Zalewski*

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This statement was written and signed in response to the Administration welfare "reform" bill introduced in the summer of 1994. Spurred by this proposal, Republicans are now championing much worse barbarisms. We should not let ourselves be driven into supporting the bad in the hopes of fending off the worse. We stand against policies which deprive poor children and scapegoat poor mothers. A politics of blaming the poor fosters a downward cycle of impoverishment, stigmatization, and despair.

— *Linda Gordon, Frances Fox Piven, Louise Trubek*

WOMEN ACADEMICS CONCERNED ABOUT WELFARE

As women scholars who have studied welfare programs in the United States and other democracies, and who share a concern for poor women and children, we feel a responsibility to speak out in opposition to the Clinton administration welfare reform proposal.

The most publicized feature of the proposal is a two-year lifetime limit on cash assistance from AFDC. The limit shreds precisely that portion of our social safety net on which poor women and children rely. Yet the evidence shows that the majority of recipients do not stay on "welfare" very long at one time, but turn to AFDC when they are forced to by work or family emergencies. Many women also turn to welfare to escape from domestic violence. A two-year limit would destroy that lifeline.

The Bush administration began freely granting waivers allowing the states to "experiment" with "reforms," and the Clinton administration is continuing this practice. Few of these waivers concern true experiments or reforms. Instead, reminiscent of the 19th century when welfare was a system of disciplinary tutelage, they usually cut welfare grants which are already everywhere below the poverty level. Some states are reducing family benefits if a child is truant or if an additional child is born. From the beginning of AFDC in 1935, the federal government provided some protection against the arbitrary ill-treatment of recipients by states and counties. That protection should not be forfeited.

The effort to present a "revenue-neutral" welfare reform has resulted in the ludicrous prospect of severe cutbacks in programs that serve some of the poor in order to pay for programs that will ostensibly help others of the poor. Clearly this makes little moral or programmatic sense.

Just as troublesome as these programmatic initiatives is the vilification of welfare recipients for lacking the values of work and responsibility which has characterized the Administration's talk about reform. This rhetoric undermines respect for the hard and vital work that all women do as parents. It is particularly egregious when directed against poor single mothers who confront the triple burdens of heading households, parenting, and eking out a livelihood. Given the popular misimpression that welfare recipients are overwhelmingly minority women, this pillorying of poor women also contributes to racist stereotypes.

While women have always been consigned to low wage jobs, the situation of working women trying to support children has worsened dramatically in the last two decades as wage levels plummeted. The Administration proposal is silent about that problem.

Real welfare reform should be directed to ending poverty, not welfare. We should strive for widely available day care, medical insurance, and education, and for improvements in working conditions and wages. At the same time we should preserve the programs of social support — variously called social security or welfare — that have been vital to the safety, health and morale of millions of women, men, and children in the U.S.

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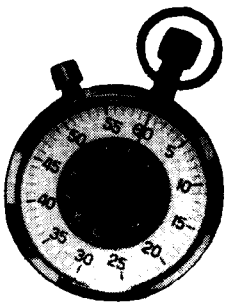
ACADEMIA EXPOSED!

The *60 Minutes* File



Back in September 1993, Morley Safer and 60 Minutes *ruffled the New York art world with their investigative report on overhyped artists and inflated reputations. Not to be outdone, Lesley Stahl took on the ivory tower in a similar spirit this February. Herewith is a transcript of her revelations.*

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LESLEY STAHL: If you're a parent like me, with a child getting ready to head off to college, you're probably excited, like me, about the wonderful intellectual world that child's headed into: great professors sharing their ideas with eager freshman, that sort of thing. Well, as the kids might say, "Get real." The great professors are there, no doubt about it, but your soon-to-be freshman is not going to find it easy finding one. We had trouble finding one at the University of Arizona.

Unidentified Instructor #1: Now, let's go to paragraph six. This is where he starts listing his evidence...

(Footage of class)

STAHL: (Voiceover) Can you find the professor in this picture? No, because the teacher of this English composition class is a graduate student. It's the same story in the 149 other freshmen English classes; not a single professor at Arizona teaches freshman English.

Unidentified Instructor #2: You just think of these as road maps and it's pointing you where to go to the next point.

(Footage of class)

STAHL: (Voiceover) That same day—a calculus class. If the T-shirt-and-shorts teacher looks a lot like the students, it's because he's just a few years older. He's a part-time instructor. You would see the same thing at the universities all across the country. The only time most freshmen see real professors is in huge lecture classes. At the University of Arizona, freshmen are taught by grad students or part-timers 87 percent of the time. Most of those teaching assistants, or TAs, have little or no training as teachers. And what's worse, in the sciences, some can barely speak English. Senior Lisa Hansen's experiences and frustrations are typical of many students' at Arizona.

> *"Most professors have a dirty little secret."*

Ms. LISA HANSEN (Senior, University of Arizona): Through chemistry and physics and a lot of the basics, the TAs do not communicate well enough to go to them and ask them questions. I've had people tell me—and I've been in classes which you go through a lab, and he's up there talking away and you can't understand him at all.

Unidentified Instructor #3: ...this...(unintelligible) gravitational force.

(Footage of separate classes)

STAHL: (Voiceover) That was one physics class at Arizona. Here's another...

Unidentified Instructor #4: ...that this is a temperature coordinate and that's...a (unintelligible) also.

STAHL: (Voiceover) And a third...

Unidentified Instructor #5: ...make this plot and show some results (unintelligible).

STAHL: You're a freshman at a college, you're being taught...

Prof. DENNIS HUSTON (Rice University): Yes.

STAHL: ...by a brilliant graduate student and you can't understand them and they're trying to teach you calculus. That's devastating.

Prof. HUSTON: Right. That's true. And that happens everywhere.

STAHL: Everywhere?

Prof. HUSTON: Well, it happens everywhere in major universities.

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(Footage of HUSTON teaching a class)
STAHL: (Voiceover) Dennis Huston is an English professor at Rice University. A few years back he won the award as the best college teacher in America. He says that most professors have a dirty little secret.
Prof. HUSTON: It's a profession in which, in large measure, if you are absolutely successful, you are promoted out of the possibility of having to teach. In other words, the ultimate success in the academic world is to be so important in getting grants, in writing articles, in writing books that you do virtually no teaching whatsoever.
STAHL: So a parent opens a college catalog and they flip through...
Prof. HUSTON: Right.
STAHL: ...and they see all these famous names teaching in the sciences, in the humanities...
Prof. HUSTON: Right.
STAHL: ...in the English Department and so they want their kid to go there. This is one of the reasons they want their child to go there. And the kid gets there and these professors don't teach at all?
Prof. HUSTON: Often. A very few of them don't teach at all. Many of them teach very small numbers of students at very advanced levels.
STAHL: This is backwards.
Prof. HUSTON: It—it seems backwards to reasonable-thinking people who think that universities are about teaching undergraduates and graduate students.
(Footage of Huston; laboratory)
STAHL: (Voiceover) Huston says this backwards logic is most prevalent at big universities with a heavy emphasis on research.
Unidentified Instructor #6: OK, here we go.
(Footage of laboratory; a college campus)
STAHL: (Voiceover) The University of Arizona gets $250 million a year in government and private research grants, nearly half its total budget. It and all other big universities couldn't operate without that money. Lately government and private grants have been shrinking, so the pressure on professors to bring in money is even greater.
Prof. HUSTON: What universities are looking for are people who do what is conceived to be important research. They bring in large grants. They write books which are noticed in the press. And, in fact, there's a kind of contempt that goes with teaching undergraduates sometimes because it gets in the way of their published research.

> *"These shelves hold 28 different journals just for accounting; 18 separate journals on statistics; 45 different journals on entomology, the study of bugs."*

(Footage of class; Lehrer and Stahl)
STAHL: (Voiceover) In fairness, some schools, particularly liberal arts colleges, do value teaching more than others. And at Arizona, the administration is trying hard to get its professors back in the classroom. But Arizona philosophy professor Keith Lehrer believes the system has the proper balance now.
Prof. KEITH LEHRER (University of Arizona): I do think that the teaching assistant is the better teacher, usually, for a freshman. I always recommend—I mean, if—if people come to me...
STAHL: How can you say that?
Prof. LEHRER: Well, there's certain reasons. In the first place, the teaching assistant has four to five years more education than the freshman. That's very well qualified.
STAHL: No.
Prof. LEHRER: Think about that. Sure they do.
STAHL: Well, they're not teachers. They're not...
Prof. LEHRER: No, they do...
STAHL: You know what...
Prof. LEHRER: They have four to five years more education. They're better qualified, I would say, to teach freshmen than a high-school teacher is to teacher [*sic*] seniors.
STAHL: Well, I...
Prof. LEHRER: She actually is not in contact with the subject matter.
STAHL: Well, I would hope so. I mean...
Prof. LEHRER: OK.
STAHL: ...you're saying that as though that's remarkable.
Prof. LEHRER: All that I'm pointing out is just these people are qualified. And, remember, the educational system, whatever you think of its details personally, works.
(Footage of John Solomon)
STAHL: (Voiceover) There are professors at Arizona who don't think it works. John Solomon, who teaches classics, says aspiring scholars get an unmistakable message: Teaching doesn't count.
Prof. JOHN SOLOMON (University of Arizona): One's time is spent, one's energies are spent, one's hopes and dreams are spent on the publications and not on the teaching. I've heard stories of young teachers being told, "You're a very good teacher. The students tell me you're a good teacher. Obviously, you're spending too much time on your teaching. You better spend more time on your publications."
(Footage of Solomon; college campus; instructor teaching)
STAHL: (Voiceover) "Spend more time on your publications or you won't get tenure," the lifetime job guarantee that universities give their faculties. Young scholars usually spend four or five years as assistant professors. After that, a committee of senior professors and administrators decides whether to give them tenure or to fire them.
Say I'm a young person with a Ph.D. and I am at the University of Arizona and I want to get tenure. What do I have to go through?
Prof. SOLOMON: You have to write and write and publish and publish and get grants and get grants. And you have to run through a political maze. The only thing you don't have to do is to teach really well.
STAHL: The only thing I don't have to do is teach very well?
Prof. SOLOMON: That's right.
STAHL: Y—you're absolutely telling me...
Prof. SOLOMON: It's absolutely true.
STAHL: ...as a tenured professor at the University of Arizona, that teaching

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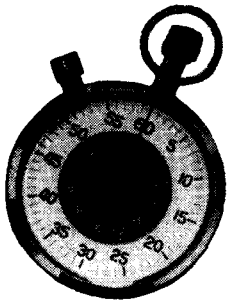

doesn't mean anything to get tenure?
Prof. SOLOMON: As a tenured professor at any university, teaching means very little.
Unidentified Instructor #7: Come on, you should be hearing this in your dreams by now. It's what?
Unidentified Student: Three centered to electron...
Instructor #7: Great. OK, three centered to an electron bond.
(Footage of instructor lecturing students)
STAHL: (Voiceover) This teacher of chemistry at Arizona just got fired, denied tenure because of insufficient research output, despite years of glowing evaluations from his students. On the other hand, there are lots of tenured full professors who, students told us, "can't teach their way out of a paper bag." Some good teachers do get tenure, of course, and some tenured professors love to teach. Problem is it happens in spite of the system, not because of it.
Ms. HANSEN: On the most part, I would say tenured professors have no motivation to be good teachers. So they're there and it's—it's the attitude of "I have other things to do. I have research to do. I have papers to write. I have to sit in this class, so I'm just going to be here and leave."
(Footage of Lehrer)
STAHL: (Voiceover) Leave to work on research that may, of course, be very important.
Prof. LEHRER: You know, the great glories of the country are ones that are created by university research that becomes invisible. I mean, you look at Desert Storm. I mean, everybody thinks Desert Storm was just the most incredible episode in American military history.
STAHL: Brilliant.
Prof. LEHRER: And it was, it was brilliant. Part of why it was brilliant is all these very complicated machines worked, based on very complicated research and technology.
STAHL: Came out of universities.
Prof. LEHRER: Came out of universities.
(Footage of library)
STAHL: (Voiceover) But breakthrough or no breakthrough, all young scholars are forced to publish their research.
And they have to come up with a great brilliant idea?
Prof. SOLOMON: No.
STAHL: Publi—no?
Prof. SOLOMON: No, you just have to publish.
STAHL: Well, what do you mean no?
Prof. SOLOMON: Well, because there's only so many—only so many great brilliant ideas that one can come up with, especially at age 26 or—or whatever. And very often university committees count pages.

> *"And let's be honest. Let's be—be totally candid. Nobody reads them. Come on."*

(Footage of University of Arizona guidelines)
STAHL: (Voiceover) Right there, in the University of Arizona tenure guidelines, it tells every candidate to count up all the pages in all of the articles they've published.
Because professors seeking tenure must publish or perish, an entire industry exists just to give them places to publish, so-called scholarly journals. The University of Arizona spends more than $2 million a year subscribing to 20,000 journals.
These shelves hold 28 different journals...
(Footage of journals)
STAHL: (Voiceover) ...just for accounting; 18 separate journals on statistics; 45 different journals on entomology, the study of bugs.
And that's after the library cut back on its subscriptions.
A lot of the research that gets published goes into these periodicals...
Prof. HUSTON: Right.
STAHL: ...that you see lined up at libraries.
Prof. HUSTON: For which we now have—have to keep building additions on to libraries because there isn't room for them.
STAHL: And let's be honest. Let's be—be totally candid. Nobody reads them. Come on.
Prof. HUSTON: Very few people, right—three or four friends or three or four people in the same field.
STAHL: This is the *Journal of Mathematical Psychology*. Listen to this title: "The Definability of the Qualitative Independence of Events in Terms of Extended Indicator Functions."
Is it anti-intellectual of me to look on these articles and say, "Come on, no one's reading them, no one understands them"?
Prof. LEHRER: Umm...
STAHL: Or—or am I right?
Prof. LEHRER: Both.
(Footage of class)
STAHL: (Voiceover) Either way if all those complicated articles add up to tenure for a professor, he's set. And if he remains productive and engaged, great. If not, he's got a job for life anyway.
What about this whole issue of deadwood? We keep hearing that universities can no longer get rid of faculty members who are—let's not be coy about this—too old. They're burned-out.
Prof. HUSTON: Fact: There's no w—I mean—if a tenured professor wants to stay, the university can do only so much to try to encourage that person to leave. And that may be an even more serious problem in years to come, since there's no longer a mandatory retirement age. It used to be that in many universities in the country, you had to retire at 65 or at 68 or at 70. And that's no longer the case.
STAHL: Why aren't you afraid of the slings and arrows of your colleagues?
Prof. HUSTON: Because I have tenure.
STAHL: Why did they give professors this extraordinary protection, a guaranteed job for the rest of their lives, really?
Prof. LEHRER: I think just as protection for the fundamental freedom that underlies a university education.
(Footage of class)
STAHL: (Voiceover) What he is talking about is academic freedom which really is the bedrock that tenure is built on. The idea is that without a guaranteed job, controversial professors would be at the mercy of college administrators or politicians.
Prof. LEHRER: Like being told that you can't teach evolution, as people were

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once told they couldn't. Take away tenure and the motivation is to focus all your attention on what's ever currently hot, and I think that would be a disaster for the universities and for the students that come in. What they would learn about was what was hot. And you know what? By the time they got their degree, it would be cold.

(Footage of class)

STAHL: (Voiceover) The proponents of more and better teaching agree that academic freedom is vital, but they say it's not worth much if all those professors, with all that freedom, don't get in the classroom and spread it around.

Now I can just see parents out there listening to what you're saying and thinking, "I'm forking out $15,000 to $20,000 now"—and that's what it costs—"to send my kid to a school where what—what I'm doing is subsidizing some guy's research. I thought I was forking out this money to educate my kid."

> *"And you think a parent should just sue?"*

Prof. HUSTON: True. All right.

STAHL: True?

Prof. HUSTON: I think it's important that the customer know that the customer is not always getting what the customer thinks he's getting.

Prof. SOLOMON: I'm waiting for some powerful parent to sue a university for consumer fraud. Y—you're paying this money, you're trying to get a product and you're not getting it.

STAHL: And you think a parent should just sue?

Prof. SOLOMON: It's worth a shot.

FALLOUT

The 60 Minutes *report elicited responses from the University of Arizona, and elsewhere. Here are two of them.*

...Particularly appalling was the scene in which you suggested that an article in the *Journal of Mathematical Psychology* must be trivial because you could not understand its title.... Your viewers should know that the senior author of the article, Dr. Patrick Suppes, is a member of the National Academy of Sciences and the American Philosophical Society. In 1990, President George Bush awarded him the National Medal of Science, the most prestigious honor our country gives to its scientists, in part for his work in mathematical psychology and its applications to education.... At Stanford University, he is highly respected for his teaching of graduates and undergraduates in the Departments of Psychology, Statistics, and Philosophy, as well as in the School of Education.

Thomas S. Wallsten, Editor,
Journal of Mathematical Psychology,
1989-1994

To be polite, [the piece] was a hatchet job.... One of the most outrageous suggestions by *60 Minutes* was pure fabrication. A professor from a private university agreed with the idea that parents may be forking out $15,000 and $20,000 a year to subsidize a professor doing research. Frankly, in-state tuition at the University of Arizona is one of America's best bargains—$1,800 for in-state students, not $15,000. More important, *tuition dollars are not spent to subsidize research.* To the contrary, *research dollars support undergraduate education.* Eighty percent of the equipment used by our undergraduates in science was paid for by research.... It is remarkable that the American research university is the envy of the world, yet *60 Minutes* missed the story.

Dr. Manuel T. Pacheco, President,
University of Arizona

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■ *Pat Churchland,*

Neuro*philosopher*

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has sustained them through many intellectual battles, but even some of their philosophical partisans wonder if their brash confidence hasn't heightened the mood of conflict. Daniel Dennett, a thoroughgoing materialist and author of *Consciousness Explained* (Little, Brown, 1991), worries that the Churchlands "are underestimating the contributions and resources of traditional philosophy . . . . I think many of the issues as they arise in traditional philosophy are quite important, and if neuroscientists persist in viewing [philosophy] as unimportant they will miss some very important questions."

For their part, the Churchlands survey the present philosophic landscape with some satisfaction. Reviewing past campaigns with the analytic opposition, Paul Churchland reports: "Philosophy is much healthier than it was twenty years ago. I mean, the battle's already over. And we won." Some moments later, he catches himself, and qualifies the point. "When we say we've won, that sounds arrogant," he admits. "All that means is, I think, the discipline of philosophy now acknowledges, though reluctantly in some quarters, a more-or-less permanent place for the kinds of things we do." Pat Churchland regards any sort of victory proclamation as premature: "I don't think the battle is over in the sense that philosophers generally recognize the importance of data. I think that will be some time coming." But while she acknowledges that "there is certainly hostility within the discipline, especially among older philosophers, to what we do," she also clearly does not view resistance as any sort of threat. "There's also a respect in which I don't care that much," she says. "I'm interested in the truth about the brain, and if that really bothers people, why should I care?"

Of course, many will continue to perceive such assertions less as philosophical positions than as high-handed proclamations, fueled by the supreme confidence of a scientism all too eager to christen the struggles of mind in the image of experimental progress. "I think in the end there is no substitute for philosophical analysis," says John Searle, tersely summing up his view of the consciousness wars. "There's no way to avoid the hard work of philosophizing. You can't think, 'Oh, we'll just wait for the results to come back from the lab.'" LF

Chris Lehmann is culture editor of In These Times. *His writings have appeared in* Tikkun, New York Newsday, *and other publications.*

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Letters to the *Editor*

Continued from page 3

they have withdrawn from any sense of responsibility to the class from which they have risen. Wolfe seems mystified about Lasch's point, which is, I think, that for democracy to work, the best people it produces must live in contact with the mass of the people—attend school with them, live in their neighborhoods, attend their churches, and most important, listen to their concerns before deigning to tell them what to do. He finds it hypocritical, as do I, that elites assume that members of the white middle class flee from substandard schools because they are racist, that their desire for their children to develop self-control is somehow based on outmoded religious values.

What is really sad is that Lasch tried to get this message across to liberals for a generation without receiving a hearing. Because liberals would not listen to him, they abandoned the people, whom they thought they had safely bought off, to the blandishments of the Newt Gingriches of this world who, whatever their failings, at least voice sympathy with the concerns of the middle class.

Owen L. Duncan, *Chair of History, Simpson College, Indianola, Iowa*

CROSSFIRE

Charlotte Allen's breezy romp through the Jesus Seminar was vintage checkout counter stuff ["Away with the Manger," January/February]. We academics are suckers for shootouts where each cowboy packs a petard. What a parody of scholarly conferencing Allen sketches: "befuddled" academics moving "glacially through their agenda," "sumptuous . . . booze-and-Brie"-ing, yelping "blockhead"!

But once I sobered up, some reservations kicked in. Is Allen arguing that the Jesus Seminar has reached the wrong conclusion about the Gospels because they think some Gospel Songs are funny? That their project is wrongheaded because they eat too well?

I wish that Allen had attempted a more direct criticism of what seems really to wrinkle her nostrils about the seminar's project—her charge that it revives (sneer here) "that quintessential Enlightenment project," the search for historical information about Jesus. She seems to take it for granted that the seminar is a pack of fools because it "has little patience with anything that cannot be established empirically," because "its members are chosen for their devotion to facts," and because it seeks a "rationalist-liberationist consensus" about Jesus.

What we seem to have here is the usual failure to communicate between the Rationalists and the Neo-Sophists. Nothing much came of the argument over whether facts create power or power creates facts when it was first thrashed out by Plato and company. But we can all thank Charlotte Allen for at least one thing. The replay will certainly be less dreary if the rules allow for diversionary tactics and bank shots.

A. Daniel Frankforter, *Professor of History, Penn State University, Erie, PA*

CORRECTION

The version of the "Lord's Prayer" accompanying Charlotte Allen's "Away with the Manger" [January/February 1995] contains color-coding errors. The prayer should read as follows:

Our Father in the heavens,
your name be revered.
Impose your imperial rule,
enact your will on earth as you have in heaven.
Provide us with the bread we need for the day.
Forgive our debts
to the extent that we have forgiven those in debt to us.
And please don't subject us to test after test,
but rescue us from the evil one.

BLUE: Jesus undoubtedly said this or something very like it.
LIGHT BLUE: Jesus probably said something like this.
GRAY: Jesus did not say this, but the ideas contained in it are close to his own.
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Washington, U of	Hess, Laura	St Olaf C
Washington, U of	Kobayashi, Motoo	Washington, U of
Wesleyan U	Zhu, Xiaomiao	Wesleyan U
Wiscnsn, U of	Yasuda, Midori	Dickinson C
Yale U	Stahl, David	Middlebury C
CAN-Brit Columbia	Yu, Teresa	Simon Fraser,CAN
CAN-Toronto	Chiba, Yoko	St Lawrence U
CAN-Toronto	Preston, Laurence	Brit Columbia,CAN
CIS-Leningrad	Vovin, Alexander	Miami U, Oxford
UK-Essex, U of	Ikegami, Naoko	Colgate U

BIOLOGY/ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES

TRAINED BY	NAME	HIRED BY
Alabama, Brmng	Aarons, David	Talladega C
Alabama, U of	Rogers, Carolyn	Baldwin-Wallace
Alaska, U of	Schimel, Joshua	UC, St Barbara
Arizona S U	Baker, William	Grand Canyon U
Arizona S U	Chevalier, Cary	Grand Canyon U
Arizona S U	DeMarais, Alyce	Oklahoma, U of
Arizona S U	Jones, Tom	Grand Canyon U
Arizona, Tucson	Thomas, John	Michigan, Drbrn
Arizona, U of	Kaspari, Michael	Oklahoma, U of
Arkansas, U of	Patneau, Doris	Chicago, U of
Atlanta U	Early-Payne, Gloria	St Augustine's
Auburn U	Gandhi, Shilesh	Talladega C
Boston U	Williamson, Kim	Loyola, Chicago
Brown U	Warburton, Stephen	New Mexico S U
Carnegie-Mellon	Maddock, Janine	Michigan, AnAr
Chicago, U of	Brusslan, Judith	Cal S, LngBch
Chicago, U of	Clark, Steven	Michigan, AnAr
Chicago, U of	Clarke, James	G Washington U
Chicago, U of	Dixon, Kevin	Arizona S West
Chicago, U of	Lilien, Jack	Wayne S U
Clemson U	Zettler, Lawrence	Furman U
Cntrl Connecticut	Rieger, Sally	Cntrl Connecticut
Colorado, U of	Parfitt, Karen	Pomona C
Columbia U	Ren, Ruibao	Brandeis U
Cornell U	Battles, John J.	UC, Berkeley
Cornell U	Blankespoor, Curt	Hope C
Cornell U	Cairns, Sara	Middlebury C
Cornell U	Carson, Walter P.	Pittsburgh, U of
Cornell U	Hampton, James	Buena Vista C
Cornell U	Henter, Heather	Cal S, LosAngls
Cornell U	Kindahl, Eric	Maine, U of
Cornell U	Levine, Rachel	Pomona C
Cornell U	Lin, Haifan	Duke U
Cornell U	Mahaffy, Lynn	RandlphMacon
Cornell U	McGucken, Natalie	Hiram C
Cornell U	Meissner, Scott	McKendree C
Cornell U	Reeve, H. Kern	Cornell U
Cornell U	Sperling, Felix	UC, Berkeley
Cornell U	Webster, Michael	SUNY, Buffalo
Dartmouth C	Foster, Jeffrey R.	Bowdoin C
Dartmouth C	Schulze, Peter	Austin C
Delaware, U of	Baker, Katherine	Dickinson C
Duke U	Krause, Maureen	LIU, SHampton
Duke U	Kreuzer, Helen	Salem C
Duke U	Macedonia, Joseph	Alma C
Duke U	Pilson, Diana	Nebraska, Lncn
Duke U	Ronsheim, Margaret	Vassar C
Duke U	Taylor, Douglas	Virginia, U of
Emory U	Horst, Cynthia	Carroll C (WI)
Florida Int'l U	Suarez, Raul K.	UC, St Barbara
Florida S U	Straus, Sharon	UC, Davis
Florida, U of	Eberhardt, Laurie	Valparaiso U
Florida, U of	Kennell, John	S Methodist U
Florida, U of	Martinez del Rio, Carlos	Wyoming, U of
Florida, U of	O'Drobinak, David	Austin Peay S
Georgia, U of	Ganbill, Diane	S Methodist U
Georgia, U of	Pearson, Scott	Mars Hill C
Georgia, U of	Ventullo, Roy	Wartburg C
Harvard U	Allard, Marc	G Washington U
Harvard U	Arens, Nan	UC, Berkeley
Harvard U	Kramer, Mary	Chatham C
Harvard U	Kunkel, Barbara	Washington U
Harvard U	Luan, Sheng	UC, Berkeley
Harvard U	Mindell, David	Michigan, AnAr
Harvard U	Raymond, Wendy	Williams C
Harvard U	Schaeffer, Susan	Wellesley C
Hastings Law	Jacobson, M. Thomas	Sonoma S U
Hawaii, U of	McDermid, Karla Jean	Hawaii, Hilo
Hebei Medical C	Lin, Ling	Cedarville C
Hope C	Blankespoor, Curtis	Calvin C
Idaho, U of	Kurtz, Harry	Sam Houston S
Ilinois, Urbana	Koehler, Richard	St Ambrose U
Illinois, Chicago	Grande, Terry C.	Loyola, Chicago
Illinois, Chicago	Sibley, Marion	Hobart/WmSmth
Illinois S U	Norton, Brian	Union U
Illinois S U	Varkey, Jacob	Humboldt S U
Illinois, U of	Howard, Gary	SE Louisiana U
Illinois, U of	Price, Donald	E Texas S U
Illinois, U of	Williams, Joseph	Ohio S, Mnsfld
Illinois, Urbana	Ritke, Mary	Allegheny C
Indiana U	Beanan, Maureen	Spring Hill C
Indiana U	Gardner, Elizabeth	Alvernia C
Indiana U	Kubersky, Edward	Felician C
Iowa S U	Wilson, Ted	Viterbo C
Iowa, U of	Costich, Denise	Trenton S C
Iowa, U of	Swalla, Billie	Vanderbilt U
Iowa, U of	Tverberg, Lois	Luther C
Johns Hopkins U	Bassler, Bonnie	Princeton U
Johns Hopkins U	Campbell, A. Malcolm	Davidson C
Johns Hopkins U	Durdik, Jeannine	Arkansas, Frvl
Johns Hopkins U	Gal, Susannah	SUNY, Brgmtn
Kansas, U of	Good, Darrin	William Jewell C
Kansas, U of	Morrison, Michael	Virginia Wesleyan
Kent S U	Lorentz, Christopher	Thomas More C
Loma Linda U	Grismer, L. Lee	La Sierra U
Louisville, U of	Cowans, Marjorie	Miami U, Oxford
Louisville, U of	Porta, David	Bellarmine C
Louisville, U of	Staples, Robin	Trinity C (CT)
Maine, U of	Litvaitis, Marianne	NewHmpshire,Uof
Marquette U	Altinawi, Ami	Marquette U
Marquette U	Balog, Edward	Minnsota,TwnC
Marquette U	Eddy, Christina	Skidmore C
Maryland, CollPk	Park, Thomas	Illinois, Chicago
Mass, Amherst	Boda, Wanda	Sonoma S U
Mass, U of	Keys, Susan	Springfield C
Mass, U of	Maloney, Mark	Spelman C
Mass, U of	McGuire, Betty	Smith C
Med C Georgia	Belcher, Keith	Austin Peay S
Miami U, Oxford	Barone, Kathleen	Thomas More C
Michigan, AnAr	Heideman, Paul	William & Mary
Michigan S U	Case, Martha	William & Mary
Michigan S U	Hubbard, Mark	Ozarks, C of
Michigan S U	Zhang, Hong	Texas Tech
Minnesota, U of	Cabe, Paul	St Olaf C
Minnesota, U of	Fritz, Sherilyn	Lehigh U
Minnesota, U of	Lewis, Susan	Carroll C (WI)
Minnesota, U of	Oppenheimer, David	Alabama, Tsclsa
Minnesota, U of	Shelley, Brian	Holy Cross, C of
Missouri, Clmb	Simmons, John	Culver-Stockton C
MIT	Ellis, Ronald	Michigan, AnAr
Montana, U of	MacLeod, Michael	Furman U
N Arizona U	Cushman, J. Hall	Sonoma S U
N Arizona U	Ralston, Barbara	N Arizona U
N Carolina S U	Rogers, Orion	Radford U
N Carolina, U of	Ambrose, William	Bates C
N Carolina, U of	Kartez, Jack	S Maine, U of
N Carolina, U of	Kleckner, Nancy	Bates C
N Carolina, U of	Nekola, Jeffrey	Wiscnsn, GrnB
N Carolina, U of	Smith, Andrew	Butler U
N Texas, U of	Hartgraves, Morri	Weatherford C
N Texas, U of	Longlet, Nancy	Concordia, Mrhd
N/A	Bernardi, Giacomo	UC, St Cruz
N/A	Cappuccino, Naomi	Texas, Austin
N/A	Forbes, Stephen	Montana, U of
N/A	Foster, Louis	Kansas S U
N/A	Martin Remington, K.	Montana, U of
N/A	Orzech, Karen	Montana, U of
N/A	Pogson, Grant	UC, St Cruz
N/A	Ray, Durwood	Grove City C [NTG]
N/A	Sala, Anna	Montana, U of
N/A	Schulte, Bruce	Providence C
N/A	Simon, Martin	Benedictine C
N/A	Williams, Terrie	UC, St Cruz
N/A	Wilson, Charles	UC, St Cruz
N/A	Zahler, Alan	UC, St Cruz
N/A	Zavada, Michael	Providence C
Nebraska, U of	Rolen, Robert	Findlay, U of
Nevada, Reno	Sternes, Keith	Sul Ross S U
New Mexico S U	Cronin, Chrysan	Muhlenberg C
New York U	Bargonetti-Chavarria, Jill	CUNY, Hunter C
New York U	Kelly, Paul	Barnard C
New York U	Murphy, James	Bloomfield C
NewHmpshire, Uof	Bensel, Terrence	Allegheny C
Northwestern U	Hanzawa, Frances	Pomona C
Notre Dame, Uof	Berg, Martin B.	Loyola, Chicago
Notre Dame, Uof	Connick, Patricia	Ohio Dominican
Notre Dame, Uof	Hill, Anna	NE Louisiana U
Notre Dame, Uof	Wesson, Dawn	Tulane U
Ohio S U	Handler, Cynthia	Barnard C
Ohio S U	Joplin, Karl	E Tennessee S
Ohio S U	Rivers, David	Loyola, MD
Ohio S U	Smallwood, John	Montclair S C
Oklahoma, U of	Tilden, Andrea	Macalester C
Oregon Hlth U	Muntzel, Martin	CUNY, Lehman
Oregon S U	Dexter, Barbara	SUNY, Purchas
Oregon S U	Gaiser, J. Christopher	Linfield C
Oregon S U	Nielsen, Gary	Middlebury C
Oregon, U of	Broberg, Leonard	Montana, U of
Oregon, U of	Myers, Paul	Temple U
Penn S U	Anderson, Elaine	Shippensburg
Penn, U of	Bernstein, Penny	Kent S U
Penn, U of	Capel, Blanche	Duke U
Penn, U of	Schneider, Mark	York C of PA
Princeton U	Slauch, James	Illinois, Urbana
Purdue U	Chiang, Meicheng	Antioch U
Purdue U	Curry, Kevin	Bridgewater S
Purdue U	Goodner, Bradley	Richmond, U of
Purdue U	Murray, William	San Jose S U
Purdue U	Reber, Jan	Taylor U
Purdue U	Zanta, Carolyn	Goshen C
Rochester, U of	Pokrywka, Nancy Jo	Vassar C
Rutgers U	Brzorad, John	S Maine, U of
Rutgers U	Carrer, Helaine	SaoPaulo,BRZ
Rutgers U	Fox, Martin	Montclair S C

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TRAINED BY	NAME	HIRED BY
Rutgers U	Grizzle, Raymond	Taylor U
Rutgers U	Kennedy, E. Dale	Albion C
Rutgers U	Yin, Tongjia	SUNY, Genes
S Alabama, U of	Dimamuga, Filomena	Ohio U
S Florida, U of	Bradley, W. Guy	Eckerd C
S Florida, U of	Witz, Brian	S Arkansas U
St Louis U	Falls, Douglas	Emory U
Stanford U	Jackson, Robert B.	Texas, Austin
SUNY	Harshman, Lawrence C.	Nebraska, Lncn
SUNY, Albany	Chiba, Akira	Illinois, Urbana
SUNY, Stny Brk	O'Connell, Marcia	Trenton S C
SUNY, Stny Brk	Proctor, Lita	Florida S U
SUNY, Stny Brk	White, Jennifer	Simpson C
SUNY, Syracuse	Jones, Robert	Virginia Tech
SUNY, Syracuse	Leahy, Clancy	Lynchburg C
SW Louisiana	Walls, Susan	CUNY, City C
Teachers C	Kolba, Clifford	Barnard C
Temple U	Walker, Karen	C Misericordia
Tennessee, Knox	Dean, David	Spring Hill C
Tennessee, U of	Douglas, Peggy	Antioch U
Tennessee, U of	Schiller, Joseph	Austin Peay S
Texas, Austin	DeVries, Philip	Oregon, U of
Texas, Austin	Sheller, Rebecca	Southwestern U
Texas, U of	Balice-Gordon, Rita	Penn, U of
Texas, U of	Basolo, Alexandra L.	Nebraska, Lncn
Texas, U of	McCain, Elizabeth	Muhlenberg C
Texas, U of	Miller, Katherine	Wiscnsn, RiverF
Texas Tech	Bradley, Robert	Texas Tech
Thomas Jefferson	Miller, Robert	New Mexico, Uof
Tuskegee U	Baldridge, Bobby	Asbury C
UC, Berkeley	Britt, Anne	UC, Davis
UC, Berkeley	Demarest, Jeffery	Juniata C
UC, Berkeley	Edwards, Scott	Washington, U of
UC, Berkeley	Farwell, Mary	E Carolina U
UC, Berkeley	Hayes, Tyrone B.	UC, Berkeley
UC, Berkeley	Jones, Kevin	Colorado, Bldr
UC, Berkeley	Liebl, Eric	Denison U
UC, Berkeley	Marquez-Magana, Leticia	SanFrancisco S
UC, Berkeley	Riegel, Jeffrey	Hiram C
UC, Berkeley	Smith, William	UC, St Barbara
UC, Davis	Ewing, Nicholas N.	Cal S, Scrmnto
UC, Davis	Gladish, Daniel	Miami U, Oxford
UC, Davis	Lowenberg, Gregory	Middlebury C
UC, Davis	Milligan, Brook	New Mexico S U
UC, Davis	Pillai, Murali	Sonoma S U
UC, Davis	Redard, Carol L.	Cal S, Scrmnto
UC, Irvine	Frank, Craig L.	Fordham U
UC, Irvine	Hayes, William P.	Catholic U Amer
UC, Los Angeles	Cunningham, Kyle	Johns Hopkins U
UC, Los Angeles	Vleck, Carol	Iowa S U
UC, Riverside	Justice, Robin	ClaremntMcKenna
UC, Riverside	Smith-Huerta, Nancy	Miami U, Oxford
UC, San Fran	Recanzone, Gregg	UC, Davis
UC, St Cruz	Fong, Peter	Gettysburg C
Utah S U	Crist, Thomas	Miami U, Oxford
Utah, U of	Sagers, Cynthia	Arkansas, Ftvl
Vanderbilt U	Christensen, Mark	Georgetown C
Vanderbilt U	Dew, Stephanie	Centre C
Vanderbilt U	Melan, Melissa	Duquesne U
Vanderbilt U	Peeler, Elizabeth	Delta S U
Vanderbilt U	Russell, Donna	Lee C
Virginia, Med C of	Temple, Louise	Drew U
Virginia Tech	Gruhn, Christine	Nazareth C
Virginia, U of	Brousseau, Alexandra H.	DePaul U
Virginia, U of	Chambers, Randolph	Fairfield U
W Virginia U	Calabrese, Joseph	Gettysburg C
Wake Forest U	Edwards, Dale	Evansville, U of
Washington S U	Paulson, Gregory	Shippensburg
Washington S U	Zheng, Yuanming	Houghton C
Washington U	Hollocher, Hope	Princeton U
Washington U	Keeney, Jill	Juniata C
Washington U	Notwehr, Steve	Missouri, Clmb
Washington U	Routman, Eric J.	SanFrancisco S
Washington, U of	Bergelson, Joy	Chicago, U of
Washington, U of	Christensen, Alan C.	Nebraska, Lncn
Washington, U of	Garza, Dan	Florida S U
Washington, U of	Ruckelhaus, Mary	Florida S U
Washington, U of	Rudolph, Seri G.	Bowdoin C
Wesleyan U	Kliman, Richard	Radford U
Wiscnsn, Madsn	Erickson, James	Columbia U
Wiscnsn, Madsn	Guilfoile, Patrick	Bemidji S U
Wiscnsn, Madsn	Martins, Emilia	Oregon, U of
Wiscnsn, Madsn	Okkema, Peter	Illinois, Chicago
Wiscnsn, Madsn	Tisa, Louis	NewHmpshire,Uof
Wiscnsn, Madsn	Williams, Charles	Nebraska Wslyn
Wiscnsn, Milw	Day, Kristen	UC, Irvine
Wiscnsn, U of	Austen, Judith	Chicago, U of
Wiscnsn, U of	Bejsovec, Amy M.	Northwestern U
Wiscnsn, U of	Bonini, Nancy	Penn, U of
Wiscnsn, U of	Chapman, Kenneth	Kansas Newman
Wiscnsn, U of	Judelson, Howard S.	UC, Riverside
Wyoming, U of	Bomar, Charles	Wiscnsn, Stout
Wyoming, U of	Ribbens, Eric	St John's (MN)
Yale U	Boyce, Richard	Swarthmore C
Yale U	Cunningham, Clifford W.	Duke U
Yale U	Ebbert, Mercedes	Miami U, Oxford
Yale U	Hedin, Lars	Cornell U
Yale U	Vazquez, Ricardo	Wiscnsn, Stout
ARG-Cordoba	Actis, Luis	Miami U, Oxford
CAN-Laval U	Gardes, Monique	Colorado, Bldr
CAN-Quelph	Daly, James	SUNY, Purchas
CAN-Toronto	Kopachena, Jeff	E Texas S U
CAN-Victoria	O Foighil, Diarmaid	Michigan, AnAr
CAN-W Ontario	Craig, Ann Marie	Illinois, Urbana
CAN-Waterloo	Gong, Peng	UC, Berkeley
CAN-York U	Kunigelis, Stanley	Clinch Valley C
CIS-Moscow Pedagog	Polozov, Sergei	Hiram C
FRN-Paris, U of	Bendolac, Albert	Princeton U
HNG-Godollo	Weldon, Kimberly	Grand Canyon U
NETH-Utrecht	van der Laan, Mark	UC, Berkeley
PHIL-Philippines, U of	Salgado, A. Edward	Christian Bros
SWD-Goteberg	Hogstrand, Christer	Kentucky, U of
SWD-Uppsala U	Pellmyr, Nils	Vanderbilt U
UK-Strathclyde	Miller, Lain	Cincinnati, U of

CHEMISTRY/BIOCHEMISTRY

TRAINED BY	NAME	HIRED BY
Albion C	Smart, Robert	Calvin C
Arizona S U	Larson, Elizabeth	Grand Canyon U
Arizona, U of	Carter, David	Oklahoma Baptst
Arkansas, U of	Liu, Ruifeng	E Tennessee S
AT & T Bell Labs	Buratto, Steven	UC, St Barbara
Brandeis U	Dorn, Loretta	Fort Hays S U
Brandeis U	Olsen, Robert	Vassar C
Brown U	Nemethy, qEsther	Felician C
Cal Tech	Braatz, Richard	Illinois, Urbana
Cal Tech	Chow, Christina	Wayne S U
Cal Tech	Cotter, W. Donald	Mt Holyoke C
Cal Tech	France, Marcia	Washington&Lee
Cal Tech	Gin, Douglas L.	UC, Berkeley
Cal Tech	Handel, Tracy	UC, Berkeley
Cal Tech	Nelson, Janet	Middlebury C
Carnegie-Mellon	Findsen, Leonore	Hawaii, Hilo
Chicago, U of	Budil, David	Northeastern U
Chicago, U of	Gong, Bing	Ohio U
Chicago, U of	Gramsch, Steven	Augustana C (IL)
Chicago, U of	Logan, Michael	Florida S U
Chicago, U of	Padowitz, David	Amherst C
Chicago, U of	Whitnell, Robert	Guilford C
Chicago, U of	Zhang, Daisy	N Arizona U
Colorado, Bldr	Murray, Kermit	Emory U
Colorado S U	Sullivan, Eric	N Arizona U
Colorado, U of	Schuder, Michael	Carroll C (WI)
Columbia U	Long, Frederick	Rutgers, NBruns
Columbia U	Martyna, Glenn J.	Indiana, Blmngtn
Columbia U	Stiegman, Albert	Florida S U
Columbia U	Venkataraman, Bhawani	Connecticut C
Connecticut, Uof	Farhoosh, Roya	St Joseph (CT)
Cornell U	Graham, Kate	St John's (MN)
Cornell U	Lectka, Thomas	Johns Hopkins U
Cornell U	Stewart, Jon	Florida, Gnsvl
Cornell U	Taylor, Donna	Drew U
CUNY, GradCntr	Hosten, Charles	Howard U
CUNY, GradCntr	Karimi, Sasan	SUNY, Purchas
Dartmouth C	Kelly, William	SW Oklahoma S
Denver, U of	Exton, Deborah	Oregon, U of
Duke U	Rosenstein, Ian	Hamilton C
E Carolina U	Hemric, Mark	Oklahoma Baptst
Florida, Gnsvl	Simeonsson, Josef	Iowa, U of
Florida S U	Nicholson, Linda	Cornell U
Florida, U of	Freund, Michael	Lehigh U
Florida, U of	Watson, Clifford	Florida, Gnsvl
Georgia Tech	Harvey, Lilia	Agnes Scott C
Georgia Tech	Morris, Vernon	Howard U
Georgia, U of	Suggs, D. Wayne	S Arkansas U
Harvard U	Anderson, Shelby	Trinity C (CT)
Harvard U	Ausman, Vaughn S.	Marquette U
Harvard U	Goekjian, Peter	Mississippi S
Harvard U	Schwartz, Daniel K.	Tulane U
Harvard U	Seto, Christopher	Brown U
Harvard U	Woerpel, Keith	UC, Irvine
Illinois, Chicago	Swain, Dorothy	Linfield C
Illinois, Urbana	Casteel, Dee Ann	Bucknell U
Illinois, Urbana	McCusker, James	UC, Berkeley
Illinois, Urbana	Reid, Scott A.	Marquette U
Indiana U	Moss, David	Boston U
Iowa S U	Hansen, Jeffrey	DePauw U
Iowa S U	Lane, James W.	Wiscnsn,Spr[NTG]
Iowa S U	Raeker, Todd Joseph	Kent S U
Iowa S U	Robertson, Mitchell	SE Louisiana U
Iowa S U	Serra, Michael	Youngstown S
Iowa S U	Smith, Dan	Goshen C
Iowa S U	Sowa, John	Seton Hall U
Iowa S U	Thomas, Lana	Nebraska, Oma
Iowa, U of	McCobb, David	Cornell U
Johns Hopkins U	Crouch, David	Dickinson C
Johns Hopkins U	French, Andrew	Radford U
Kansas S U	Calentine, Jack	St Mary's (TX)
Kentucky, U of	Lovell, Mark	Kentucky, U of
Lehigh U	Flowers, Robert	Toledo, U of
Lehigh U	Himsl, Al	E Stroudsburg PA
Lehigh U	Quay, Deanna	Penn S U
Louisiana S U	Erickson, Mark	Mississippi, U of
Louisiana S U	Shirley, Vestel	Belmont Abbey
Loyola, Chicago	Francis, John	Felician C
Mass, U of	Johnson, Mitchell	Duquesne U
Mass, U of	Modarelli, David	Colgate U
Michigan S U	Palmer, Peter T.	SanFrancisco S
Michigan, U of	Woski, Stephen	Alabama, Tscls
Minnesota, U of	Hill, Michael	Occidental C
MIT	Caldwell, Karen R.	Pace, Pleasntvl
MIT	Dougherty, Thomas	Beaver C
MIT	Grossman, Robert	Kentucky, U of
MIT	Miwa, Julia H.	Wellesley C
MIT	Palmore, G. Tayhas R.	UC, Davis
MIT	Rappe, Andrew	Penn, U of
MIT	Sita, Lawrence R.	Chicago, U of
MIT	Tracy, Henry	S Maine, U of
MIT	Weinstock, Shelly	Montclair S C
N Carolina, ChpH	Booze, Jon A.	Davidson C
N Carolina S U	Beaver, Rodney	Troy S, Dothan
N Carolina S U	Kwochka, William	W Carolina U
N Carolina, U of	Richardson, John	Shippensburg
N/A	Dunaway, Marietta	UC, Berkeley
N/A	Kabir, Sherri	Maryland EShore
N/A	Lee, Jonathon	Boston U
N/A	Mason, Bruce	Providence C
N/A	Olsen, Lawrence	Asbury C
N/A	Sykes, Andrew G.	S Dakota, U of
N/A	Thompson, Charles	Montana, U of
N/A	Valencich, Trina	Montana, U of

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Nebraska, Lncn	Dean, Maria	Coe C
Nebraska, U of	Chiarelli, M. Paul	Loyola, Chicago
New York U	Donahue, Jean	Barnard C
NewHmpshire,Uof	Beauregard, John	NewHmpshire,Uof
Northwestern U	Nie, Shuming	Indiana, Blmngtn
Northwestern U	Treichel, David	Nebraska Wslyn
Ohio S U	Branan, Bruce	Mars Hill C
Ohio S U	Burns, Andrew	Kent S U
Ohio S U	Deng, Haibin	Kentucky, U of
Ohio S U	Luth, Karl	MacMurray C
Ohio S U	Timerman, Anthony	Wiscnsn, StevPt
Oklahoma, U of	Cracolice, Mark	Montana, U of
Oklahoma, U of	Miller, Kris	Oklahoma Chrstn
Penn S U	Strein, Timothy	Bucknell U
Penn, U of	Biaglow, Andrew	US Military Acad
Penn, U of	Segerra, Edgardo	P Rico, Cayey
Pittsburgh, U of	Adrian, Jr., James C.	Union C (NY)
Pittsburgh, U of	Ghosh, Arun	Illinois, Chicago
Pittsburgh, U of	Lynch, Bryan	Evansville, U of
Pittsburgh, U of	Xu, Zhi	Missouri, St L
Princeton U	Liu, Gan-Yu	Wayne S U
Princeton U	Love, Brian	E Carolina U
Purdue U	Bouyer, James	Austin Peay S
Purdue U	Gotch, Albert	Benedictine C
Purdue U	Knoerzer, Timm	Denison U
Purdue U	Sprinkle, James	NEasternIllinois
Rensselaer Poly	Thompson, Tracy	Edgewood C
Rochester, U of	Ceckler, Toni	Bucknell U
Rochester, U of	Harmon, Julie	S Florida, U of
Rochester, U of	Santalucia, John	Wayne S U
S California, U of	Nickolaisen, Scott	Cal S, LosAngls
S Carolina, U of	Falconer, Renee	Youngstown S
S Illinois U	Cybulski, S. Mark	Miami U, Oxford
Stanford U	Fourkas, John	Boston C
Stanford U	Hines, Melissa	Cornell U
Stanford U	Hutchison, James	Oregon, U of
Stanford U	Koehler, Birgit	Williams C
Stanford U	Peterson, Kristen	New Mexico S U
Stanford U	Van Vranken, David	UC, Irvine
SUNY, Buffalo	Carlacci, Louis	S Florida, U of
Tennessee, U of	Gannicott, Priscilla	Lynchburg C
Tennessee, U of	Mauldin, Robert	Shawnee S U
Texas A&M U	Konrad, Kabza	SUNY, Fredon
Texas A&M U	Sargent, Andrew	E Carolina U
UC	Blaber, Michael	Florida S U
UC	McCallum, Charles	Pacific, U of the
UC, Berkeley	Davis, Harry Floyd	Cornell U
UC, Berkeley	Mukerji, Ishita	Wesleyan U
UC, Berkeley	Shokat, Keven	Princeton U
UC, Berkeley	Smith, David	New Mexico S U
UC, Berkeley	Steyert, David	Wabash C
UC, Berkeley	Vallenoweth, Robert	Cal S, LosAngls
UC, Berkeley	Wang, Peng	Miami, U of
UC, Irvine	Smith Jr., Tyrrel	N Arizona U
UC, Los Angeles	Bendorf, Holly D.	Bowdoin C
UC, Los Angeles	Evanseck, Jeffrey	Miami, U of
UC, Los Angeles	Franklin, John	Neumann [NTG]
UC, Los Angeles	Georgiadis, Millie M.	Rutgers, NBruns
UC, Los Angeles	Gomez, Frank	Cal S, LosAngls
UC, Los Angeles	Lu, Yi	Illinois, Urbana
UC, Los Angeles	O'Leary, Daniel	Pomona C
UC, Los Angeles	Ota, Irene	Colorado, Bldr
UC, Los Angeles	Tam-Chang, Suk-Wah	Nevada, Reno
UC, Riverside	Turnbull, Kenneth	Arkansas, Ftvl
UC, San Diego	Pu, Lin	N Dakota S U
UC, San Diego	Trischman, Jacqueline A.	UC, San Diego
UC, San Diego	Vellom, Daniel	CUNY, Brooklyn
UC, San Fran	Gregoret, Lydia	UC, St Cruz
UC, San Fran	Perona, John	UC, St Barbara
Utah, U of	McNichols, Aileen	N Arizona U
Utah, U of	Stahl, Lothar	N Dakota, U of
Vanderbilt U	Phillips, Shawn	Vanderbilt U
Virginia Tech	Roy, Christopher	Otterbein C
Virginia Tech	Snow, Nicholas	Seton Hall U
Washington S U	McGuire, Brian	Grand Canyon U
Washington, U of	Johnson, Kevin E,	Pacific U
Wayne S U	Craine, Leslie	Holy Cross, C of
Wiscnsn, Madsn	Carlson, Gail	St Olaf C
Wiscnsn, Madsn	Gron, Liz	Hendrix C
Wiscnsn, Madsn	Lantz, Juliette	St Olaf C
Wiscnsn, Madsn	Maxka, Jim	N Arizona U
Wiscnsn, Madsn	Petillo, Peter	Illinois, Urbana
Wiscnsn, U of	Ticich, Thomas	Centenary C (LA)
Wiscnsn, U of	Utz, Arthur	Tufts U
Wyoming, U of	Bornhop, Darryl	Texas Tech
Yale U	Bertman, Steven	W Michigan U
Yale U	Gordon, Dana	Brandeis U
Yale U	Halcomb, Randall	Colorado, Bldr
CAN-Dalhousie	Foster, Stephen C.	Mississippi S
CAN-Dalhousie	McMahon, Kevin	Luther C
CAN-McGill U	Li, Chao-Jun	Tulane U
CAN-Windsor, U of	Gorzelska, Krystyna	Mary, U of
CIS-Acad Sci	Malik, Abdul	S Florida, U of
CIS-Moscow Tech	Stuchebrukhov, Alexei	UC, Davis
FRN-Lyons	Feron-Gooding, Beatrice	LebanonValley
SWT-Basel, U of	Jardetsky, Theodore	Northwestern U
UK-Hull, U of	Andrews, Anthony	Ohio U

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Brown U	Bowditch, P. Lowell	Oregon, U of
Brown U	Evans, Nancy	Smith C
Brown U	Mitchell, Robin	Temple U
Brown U	Olivia, Leonora	Millsaps C
Chicago, U of	Durick, Brian	Concordia, Mrhd
Cincinnati, U of	Palmer, Ruth	Ohio U
Columbia U	DiGangi, Mario	Indiana, Blmngtn
Columbia U	Fogel, Jerise	Illinois, Urbana
Columbia U	Lenz, John	Drew U
Cornell U	Gruber, Franz	Malawi, U of,MLW
Cornell U	Ledbetter, Grace	Swarthmore C
Cornell U	Wilson, Paul M.	Yale U
Duke U	Dexter, Caroline	G Washington U
Iowa, U of	Debloois, Nanci	Brighm Yng U
Michigan, AnAr	Higginbotham, James A.	Bowdoin C
Michigan, U of	Clark Kosak, Jennifer	Bowdoin C
Michigan, U of	Koloski-Ostrow, Ann O.	Brandeis U
Michigan, U of	Pena, J. Theodore	SUNY, Buffalo
Michigan, U of	Pollard, Nigel D.	Bowdoin C
Minnesota, U of	Honeywell, Claudia	St John's (NM)
Minnesota, U of	Mook, Margaret	Iowa S U
NewHmpshire,Uof	Cooper-Forst, Julianne	NewHmpshire,Uof
Penn, U of	Flower, Harriet	Franklin&Marshall
Penn, U of	Huntsman, Eric	Brighm Yng U
Penn, U of	Magness, Jodi	Tufts U
Penn, U of	Nicholson, Nigel J.	Wellesley C
Pittsburgh, U of	Wilkins, Ann Thomas	Duquesne U
SUNY	Prior, Richard	Furman U
Texas, U of	Shapiro, Susan	Gustavus Adolph
UC, Berkeley	Roller, Matthew	Johns Hopkins U
UC, Berkeley	Smith, Neel	Holy Cross, C of
UC, Berkeley	Steiner, Deborah	Columbia U
UC, Berkeley	Wilson, Malcolm	Oregon, U of
UC, Los Angeles	Bowman, Laurel	Victoria, U of,CAN
UC, Los Angeles	Cape, Robert	Austin C
UC, Los Angeles	Reece, Steve	St Olaf C
Wiscnsn, U of	Larson, Jennifer	Kent S U
Wiscnsn, U of	Nordling, John	Valparaiso U
Yale U	Lamberton, Robert	Washington U
UK-Oxford U	Kahane, Ahuvia	Northwestern U

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Arizona S U	Birkholt, Marty J.	Colorado S U
Arizona S U	Simon, James	Pacific, U of the
Arizona, Tucson	Le Poire, Beth	UC, St Barbara
Arizona, U of	Guerrero, Laura	Penn S U
Arizona, U of	Walkosz, Barbara	Montana S U
Bloomsbrg (PA)	Knight, Richard	W Texas A&M
Boston U	Solomon, Eileen	Webster U [NTG]
Bowling Green S	Carlin, Edward	Shippensburg
Bowling Green S	Covington, William	Bridgewater S
Bowling Green S	Halcomb, Tracy	SE Louisiana U
Bowling Green S	Peirce-Jones, Carol	Kentucky, U of
Bowling Green S	Schlagheck, Carol	E Michigan U
Bowling Green S	Sedman, David	S Methodist U
Bowling Green S	Wenzlaff, Sue	Austin Peay S
City U, Los Angeles	Keenan, Richard	Wayne S C
Cntrl Missouri S	Skaggs, Edward	Loras C
Colorado, Bldr	Barker, James	New Mexico, Uof
Colorado, Denv	Pendleton, Susan	Nebraska, Oma
Columbia U	Alexander, Mary Jane	St Michael's C
Concordia, U of	Groleau, Carole	Ottawa, U of,CAN
Cornell U	Dyer, Shannon	SW Baptist U
Cornell U	Morris, Greggory	CUNY, Hunter C
CUNY	Dumcombe, Stephen	SUNY, Westbry
CUNY, Brooklyn	MacLelland, Stuart	CUNY, Brooklyn
Denver, U of	Anderson, Steven	Wiscnsn, RiverF
Denver, U of	Harvey, Vickie	Denver, U of
Denver, U of	Melvin, Robert	Denver, U of
Denver, U of	Whelan, Thomas	Ursinus C
DePaul U	Cannell, Robert	Roosevelt U
Duquesne U	Irani, Tracy	Duquesne U
E Michigan U	Geiger, Wendy	Muskingum C
E Michigan U	Hendrix, Lolita	E Michigan U
Emory U	Carpenter, Dale	Arkansas, Ftvl
Florida S U	Bolduc, William	N Carolina, Wlm
Florida S U	Elliott, Scott	SE Louisiana U
Florida, U of	Frantz, Alice	Tri-State U
Georgia, U of	Johnson, Keith F.	Texas Tech
Harvard U	Barrett, Janice	Boston U
Harvard U	Lengel, James	Boston U
Illinois, U of	Baym, Nancy	Wayne S U
Illinois, U of	Cagle, Van	Doane C
Illinois, U of	Gilmore, Sean	Allegheny C
Illinois, U of	Marquez, Sandra	E Michigan U
Illinois, Urbana	Chang, Hui-Ching	Illinois, Chicago
Illinois, Urbana	Greene, Ronald W.	Texas, Austin
Illinois, Urbana	Mitra, Ananda	Wake Forest U
Illinois, Urbana	Murphy, Mary Ann	Pace, Pleasntvl
Indiana, Blmngtn	Brand, Jeffrey	N Dakota S U
Indiana S U	Hayes, Tammy E.	GeorgiaSouthern
Indiana U	Applebaum, Lynn	CUNY, City C
Indiana U	Cole, Edith	Capital U
Indiana U	Dawson, Robert	DePauw U
Indiana U	DeSantis, Alan	Kentucky, U of
Indiana U	Seel, Peter B.	SanFrancisco S
Iowa, U of	Aleman, Carlos	Illinois, Chicago
Iowa, U of	Barnes, Melanie	DePauw U
Iowa, U of	Condra, Mollie	Vanderbilt U
Iowa, U of	Craig, Robert	St Thomas, U of
Iowa, U of	DeLaurell, Richard	S Methodist U
Iowa, U of	Keeley, Maureen	St Cloud S U
Iowa, U of	Schnoor, Larry	St Olaf C
Kansas S U	Trautman, Todd	Concordia, Mrhd
Kansas, U of	Chadwick, Scott	Oregon S U
Kansas, U of	Hadley, Pamela	Arizona S U
Kansas, U of	Levasseur, David	Villanova U
Kansas, U of	Voth, Ben	Miami U, Oxford
Kent S U	Dempsey, Donald	Cabrini C
Kentucky, U of	Baldwin, Cecelia	San Jose S U
Kentucky, U of	Banks, Tracy	S Connecticut
Kentucky, U of	Foreman, Chris	E Michigan U
Kentucky, U of	Kailing, Joel	Lee C
Lehigh U	West, June	Seton Hall U
Louisiana S U	Taylor, Kelly	Texas, Tyler
Maryland, U of	Plowman, Kenneth	San Jose S U
Mass, Amherst	Maxcy, David	NewHmpshire,Uof

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Memphis S U	Eubanks, Christine	Mississippi, U of
Michigan S U	Avery, Penny	Aquinas C
Michigan S U	De Silva, Indra	Boston C
Michigan S U	Kazoleas, Dean	Illinois S U
Michigan S U	Tucker, Elizabeth M.	Texas, Austin
Michigan S U	Wicks, Jan LeBlanc	Arkansas, Ftvl
Michigan S U	Wicks, Robert H.	Arkansas, Ftvl
Minnesota, U of	Corbett, Julia	Utah, U of
Minnesota, U of	Franz, Karen	Cntrl Connecticut
Minnesota, U of	Hayden, Sara	Montana, U of
Minnesota, U of	Hindman, Douglas	N Dakota S U
Minnesota, U of	Hindman, Elizabeth Blanks	N Dakota S U
N Arizona U	Pavlich, Margaret	N Arizona U
N Carolina, ChpH	Johnson, Melissa	N Carolina S U
N Carolina, ChpH	Slater, John	W Carolina U
N Illinois U	Cheng, Jing-Yau	World C,TAIW
N/A	Anderson, Jeffrey	Montana, U of
N/A	Jensen, Thomas W.	S Dakota, U of
N/A	Lamb, Lawrence	Kansas S U
N/A	Laub, Lindy	Texas, Austin
N/A	Molstad, Christin A.	Kansas S U
N/A	Noll, Bruce	S Dakota, U of
N/A	Pena, Elizabeth D.	Texas, Austin
N/A	Perron, Cathy	Boston U
N/A	Talenti, Francesca P.	Texas, Austin
N/A	Ward, Mary F.	Kansas S U
Nebraska, Lncn	Reisig-Harris, Alexis	Kansas Newman
Nebraska, Lncn	Thomas, L. Lee	Nebraska Wslyn
New Mexico S U	Weber, Warren	N Arizona U
New Rochelle, C of	Luskay, Maria T.	Pace, Pleasntvl
New School	Barrett, William	Webster U [NTG]
New York Tech	Feuerman, David	Westminster (PA)
New York U	Gencarelli, thomas	Montclair S C
New York U	Hoffman, Joyce	Old Dominion U
New York U	Mayzik, James	Fairfield U
Northwestern U	Aune, James	St Thomas, U of
Northwestern U	Ceccarelli, Leah	Penn S U
Northwestern U	Rojecki, Andrew	Indiana, Blmngtn
Northwestern U	Simmons, Karl B.	Marquette U
Ohio S U	Dainton, Marianne	SUNY, Genes
Ohio S U	Hallstein, D. Lynn O'B.	Babson C
Ohio S U	Lynch, Patricia	Thomas More C
Ohio S U	Metts, Rodney	Shorter C
Ohio S U	Musgrave, Roger D.	Fordham U
Ohio S U	Stafford, Camilla	Ashland U
Ohio U	Armstrong , Robert	Oklahoma City
Ohio U	Auwal, Mohammad	Cal S, LosAngls
Ohio U	Bonaguro, Ellen	Ithaca C
Ohio U	Daugherty, Tammie	Malone C
Ohio U	Farley-Lucas, Bonnie	S Connecticut
Ohio U	Hosbein, Cindy	Kentucky, U of
Ohio U	Mason, Debra	Otterbein C
Ohio U	Parker, James	Wiscnsn,Spr[NTG]
Ohio U	Query, James, Jr.	Loyola, Chicago
Oklahoma S U	Lee, Kevin	W Virginia Wslyn
Oklahoma S U	Oskam, Judith B.	Texas Tech
Oklahoma, U of	Ivy, Diana	TexasA&M,CrpsC
Oklahoma, U of	Newsome, Chevelle A.	Cal S, Scrmnto
Oklahoma, U of	Woods, Marilyn	Texas, Arlington
Old Dominion U	Leidholdt, Alexander	Purdue U
Oregon, U of	Beam, Randal A.	Indiana, Blmngtn
Oregon, U of	Earl, William	Oregon S U
Oregon, U of	Steffani, Susan	Whittier C
Penn S U	Altenburger, Janice	W Kentucky U
Penn S U	Ferris, Sharmila	Wm Paterson C
Penn S U	Gildea, Dennis	Springfield C
Penn S U	Grassman, Jessica	Missouri Westrn
Penn S U	Hallett, Terry	N Carolina S U
Penn S U	Lenze, James	Lawrence Tech U
Penn S U	Miller, Kelly	TexasA&M,CrpsC
Penn, U of	Wilkins, Karin G.	Texas, Austin
Pittsburg S U	Pruitt, Ronald	N Arizona U
Pittsburgh, U of	Check, Terence	St John's (MN)
Purdue U	Amason, Patricia	Arkansas, Ftvl
Purdue U	Keehner, Mary	Purdue U
Purdue U	O'Rourke, Daniel	Ashland U
Purdue U	Ramsey, Ramsey Eric	Arizona S West
Purdue U	Shah, Rani	DePaul U
Purdue U	Sotirin, Patricia	Michigan Tech
Purdue U	Whitney, Susan	DePaul U
Radford U	Darby, Jeanne	Clinch Valley C
Rutgers U	Pierson, Jeffrey	Bridgewater S
S California, U of	Madison, Kelley	Cal S, LosAngls
S California, U of	Penkoff, Diane	Purdue U
S California, U of	Schmitz, Joseph	Tulsa, U of
S Illinois, Crbndl	Maguire, Mariangela	Gustavus Adolph
S Illinois U	Krider, Diane	Saginaw Valley S
S Illinois U	Randall, Deleasa	Ashland U
S Illinois U	Thomlison, Dean	Ozarks, C of
S Illinois U	Tsao, Jinshi	Hastings C
S Illinois U	Welker, Linda	Xavier U
SanFrancisco,Uof	Khani, Hamid A.	SanFrancisco S
Savannah C	Lemacks, David	Wilkes C
St Louis U	Carpenter, Debra	Webster U [NTG]
Stanford U	Basil, Michael	Denver, U of
Stanford U	Martinelli, Kathleen	San Jose S U
SUNY, Buffalo	Assante, Leonard	Austin Peay S
SUNY, Regents	Spencer, Steven	Maryland EShore
SW Missouri S	Fuller, Todd	SW Baptist U
Syracuse U	Tinianow, Daniel	Austin C
Temple U	Fry, Katherine	CUNY, Brooklyn
Temple U	Hanley, Barbara M.	Indiana NWest
Temple U	Viser, Victor	York C of PA
Tennessee, Knox	Chapman, E. Lynn	Miami U, Oxford
Tennessee, Knox	Farmer, Betty	W Carolina U
Tennessee, Knox	Gilbert, Ron	Lee C
Texas A&M Int'l	Basso, Joseph	S Connecticut
Texas, Austin	Carr, Steven Alan	Indiana, Blmngtn
Texas, Austin	Gilbert, Joanne	Alma C
Texas, Austin	Land, F. Mitchell	N Texas, U of
Texas, Austin	Lowe, Gregory	G Washington U
Texas, Austin	Mendenhall, Robert R.	SW Adventist C
Texas, Austin	Rocha-Ruiz, Ernesto	Nuevo Leon,MEX
Texas, Austin	Streible, Daniel Gene	Wiscnsn, Oshk
Texas, Tyler	Wright, Mary Ellen	Texas, Tyler
Texas, U of	Bruder, Kurt A.	Texas Tech
Texas, U of	House, Ann	NEasternIllinois
Texas Tech	Hughes, Shawn	Lubbock Chrstn
UC	Vernallis, Carole	Stockton S C
UC, Berkeley	Voakes, Paul S.	Indiana, Blmngtn
UC, Los Angeles	McKinney, Ashley	New Orleans, U of
UC, Los Angeles	Walker, Janet	Wayne S U
UC, San Diego	Petrazzini, Ben Alfa	HongKong,SciTech,PRC
UC, San Diego	Ribak, Rivka	Haifa,ISR
UC, San Diego	Rodriguez, America B.	Texas, Austin
UC, St Barbara	Fox, Susan	W Michigan U
UC, St Barbara	Lewis, Laurie	Penn S U
Utah, U of	Brown, Michael	Wyoming, U of
Utah, U of	Cue, William	Hastings C
Utah, U of	Thronton, Brian	Midwestern S
Valdosta S C	Bohler, Robert	GeorgiaSouthern
Vanderbilt U	Crandell, Carl	Florida, Gnsvl
Vanderbilt U	Hedrick, Mark	Alabama, Tscls
Wake Forest U	Frank, Robert	Duquesne U
Washington, U of	Skow, Lisa	Indiana S U
Washington, U of	Strohkirch, Carolyn	Fort Hays S U
Wayne S U	Edelmayer, Kathleen	St Olaf C
Wayne S U	King, Barbara	Carroll C (WI)
Wayne S U	Vander Woude, Judith	Calvin C
Wiscnsn, U of	Liss, Julie	Arizona S U
Yale U	Gromala, Diana	Washington, U of
Yale U	Sherman, Anthony	S Connecticut
CAN-Carleton U	Richards, Trudene	Mt St Vincent,CAN
CAN-Montreal, U of	Martinez, Andrea	Ottawa, U of,CAN
CAN-Queen's U	Deveau, Gilles	Mt St Vincent,CAN

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Cornell U	Brinkley, Edward	Virginia, U of
Emory U	Eidelman, Dawn D.	Texas, Arlington
Emory U	Lang, Susan M.	Wilkes C
Harvard U	Figueira, Dorothy	Illinois, Urbana
Indiana U	Glasberg, Elena	Knox C
Iowa, U of	Hodapp, William	St Scholastica
Iowa, U of	Skoyles, John	Emerson C
Johns Hopkins U	Marcus, Sharon	UC, Berkeley
Louisiana S U	Porter, Connie	Emerson C
Michigan Tech	Stephenson, Denise	Springfield C
Michigan, U of	Burch, Julia F.	SE Louisiana U
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N/A	Brown, Janice	Grove City C [NTG]
N/A	Gaylin, Ann	Yale U
N/A	Newton, Allyson	Asbury C
Ohio S U	George, Laura	E Michigan U
Oregon, U of	Angele, Marian	Vanderbilt U
Oregon, U of	Martín, Annabel	N Carolina S U
Penn S U	Cao, Zuoya	American U
Penn S U	Djibo,Abdoulaye Harouna	Niamey,NIGER
Penn S U	Gavioli, Davida	Oberlin C
Penn S U	Martínez-Rico, Ingrid	Gettysburg C
Penn S U	Niandou, Aissata	Niamey,NIGER
Penn S U	Walter, Kelly	S California C
S Carolina, U of	Wurzel, Nancy	Baldwin-Wallace
SW Oklahoma S	Evans, Patsy	Oklahoma Baptst
Tennessee, Chat	Wayne, Rebecca	Lee C
Texas, Dallas	St. Germain, Sheryl	Knox C
UC, Berkeley	Melas, Natalie	Cornell U
UC, Berkeley	Roberts, Patricia	Missouri, Clmb
UC, Berkeley	Seidman, Naomi	Penn S U
UC, San Diego	Erickson, Michael	Webster U [NTG]
Virginia, U of	MacInnes, Ian	Albion C
UK-Oxford U	Setton, Mark	SUNY, Stny Brk

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Cornell U	Briggs, Amy	Middlebury C
Cornell U	Jennings, James	Cornell U
Cornell U	Rus, Daniella	Dartmouth C
Dartmouth C	Goldweber, Michael	Beloit C
Duke U	Reed, David	Dickinson C
Illinois S U	Griggs, Kevan	Rockford C
Illinois Tech	Louca, Soulla	Otterbein C
Illinois, U of	Chronopolis, Anthony	Wayne S U
Illinois, U of	Williams, Peter L.	Vassar C
Illinois, Chicago	Muscarello, Thomas J.	DePaul U
Illinois, Urbana	Binger, David	Centre C
Indiana U	Meeden, Lisa	Swarthmore C
Iowa S U	Juedes, David	Ohio U
Johns Hopkins U	Jacob, Robert	Tufts U
Maryland, CollPk	Farach, Martin	Rutgers, NBruns
Maryland, U of	Sun, Xiaobai	Duke U
Mass, Lowell	Wilkens, Linda	Bridgewater S
Michigan S U	Sun, Xian-He	LSU, BatnRoug
Michigan, U of	Cook, Harold	Lock Haven U
Minnesota, U of	Challou, Daniel	St John's (MN)
Minnesota, U of	Vetter, Ronald	N Dakota S U
Missouri, KansC	Varshney, Upkar	Washburn U
MIT	Brewer, Eric	UC, Berkeley
MIT	Edward, Felten	Princeton U
MIT	Mataric, Maja	Brandeis U
MIT	Patt-Shamir, Boaz	Northeastern U
MIT	Rogaway, Phillip	UC, Davis
MIT	Yanco, Holly A.	Wellesley C
N Carolina, U of	Haddad, Sr., Albert	N Texas, U of
N/A	Wilde, Nicholas	Montana, U of

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Ohio S U	Heym, Wayne D.	Otterbein C
Penn, U of	Di Eugenio, Barbara	Pittsburgh, U of
Penn, U of	Hardt, Daniel	Villanova U
Penn, U of	Henderson, James	Exeter,UK
Penn, U of	Ko, Hyeongseok	Iowa, U of
Penn, U of	Liu, Peter	Malone C
Princeton U	Danskin, John	Dartmouth C
Purdue U	Royappa, Andrew	Millsaps C
Purdue U	Vermeer, Pamela	Washington&Lee
Purdue U	Zhang, Aidong	SUNY, Buffalo
Rensselaer Poly	Brady, Alyce	Kalamazoo C
Rochester, U of	Crovella, Mark	Boston U
Rutgers U	Bjorling-Sachs, Iliana	Lafayette C
Rutgers U	Gore, Vivek	Edinburgh,UK
Rutgers U	Kanjilal, Suman	SUNY, Bngmtn
Rutgers U	Pratt, Lorien	Colorado Sch Mines
Rutgers U	Sarkozy, Gabor	Penn, U of
Rutgers U	Streinu, Ileana	Smith C
Stanford U	Hoelzle, Urs	UC, St Barbara
Stanford U	Jones, David	McMaster U,CAN
SUNY, Bngmtn	Morse, Robert	E Nazarene C
SUNY, Buffalo	Almeida, Michael	Maryland EShore
SUNY, Buffalo	Jana, Devashis	Sul Ross S U
Texas A&M U	Cai, Liming	E Carolina U
Texas, Austin	Chodrow, Sarah	Emory U
UC, Irvine	Vahid, Frank N.	UC, Riverside
UC, Los Angeles	Merzbacher, Matthew	Wellesley C
UC, San Diego	Karri, Ramesh	Mass, Amherst
UC, San Diego	Koutsoupias, Elias	UC, Los Angeles
UC, San Diego	Vin, Harrick Mayank	Texas, Austin
Vanderbilt U	Apon, Amy W.	Fisk U
Vanderbilt U	Eschen, Elaine M.	Fisk U
Vanderbilt U	Yu, Xudong	Austin Peay S
Virginia, U of	Pancerella, Carmen	Villanova U
Wichita S U	Schmidt, Cecil	Washburn U
Wiscnsn, Madsn	Brewster, Gregory B.	DePaul U
Wiscnsn, Madsn	Lewandowski, Gary	Xavier U
Wiscnsn, U of	Kim, Jin-Chul	Goshen C
CAN-Toronto	Cruz, Isabel	Tufts U
CIS-Bylorus Poly	Lomako, Gennady	Bloomfield C
GRC-Nat'l Tech	Antoniou, George	Montclair S C
SLOV-Slovenia	Semrl, Andrej	DePaul U
UK-Oxford U	Forsyth, David	UC, Berkeley
YUG-Belgrade	Pevac, Irena	Cntrl Connecticut

DANCE/DRAMA/FILM/VIDEO

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Arizona, U of	Luna, J. Don	TexasA&M,CrpsC
Brandeis U	Riggin, Patricia	Maine, U of
Cal Inst Arts	Margolis, Janice	Texas, Austin
Carnegie-Mellon	Ramirez, Luis	Mississippi, U of
Carnegie Mellon	Williams-Churchill, J.	NewHmpshire,Uof
Catholic U Amer	Berman, Karen	Georgetown U
Catholic U Amer	Dawson, Joseph	Wilkes C
Colorado, U of	Dillon, Cynthia	New Mexico S U
Columbia U	Megee, Mary	Rutgers, Newark
Columbia U	Roach, Janet	Columbia U
Connecticut, Uof	Maloney, D. J.	E Carolina U
Cornell U	Wright, Brad	Indianapolis, U of
CUNY, City C	Bogin, Magda	Columbia U
CUNY, Hunter C	Bowen, Nancy	Columbia U
Dallas, U of	Campbell, Kathleen	Austin C
Delaware, U of	Elderkin, Robert	Guilford C
Eastman Music	Terricciano, Alan	UC, Irvine
Emory U	Pramaggiore, Maria	N Carolina S U
Florida Atlantic	Horne, Maria S.	SUNY, Buffalo
Florida S U	Lynch, William	Webster U [NTG]
G Washington U	Conway, Daniel	Maryland, CollPk
Georgia, U of	Davidson, Michael	Kenyon C
Georgia, U of	Pauze, Peter	Denison U
Harvard U	Holmberg, Arthur	Brandeis U
Iowa, U of	Hu, Er-Dong	Bucknell U
Iowa, U of	Wetli, Laura Jo	Illinois Weslyn
Kansas S U	Santine, Rachel	Nebraska, Kearney
Kansas, U of	Werner, Barbara	Wiscnsn, RiverF
Kent S U	Kennedy, William	Capital U
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Mass, U of	Oliver, Keith	Gustavus Adolph
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N Arizona U	Spencer, Marcy	N Arizona U
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N Carolina, Grns	Koenig, Hardy	Averett C
N Carolina, Grns	Vickers, Janice	Alabama, Brmng
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N/A	Brewster-Wagner, Margaret	Russell Sage C
N/A	Clifton, Lucille	Columbia U
N/A	Diamond, Stuart	Columbia U
N/A	Frederick, Louis J.	Bowdoin C
N/A	Hamblin, Richard	Montana, U of
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N/A	Kessler, Jon	Columbia U
N/A	Ortmann, Jeffrey	Roosevelt U
N/A	Sullivan, David	Providence C
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New York U	Stamp Lindsey, Shelley	UC, St Cruz
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UC, St Barbara	Walker, Victor	Dartmouth C
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Utah, U of	Halladay, Jette	Mdl Tennessee
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Washington, U of	Parker, Rip	Washington, U of
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Wiscnsn, U of	Turner, Christine	S Methodist U
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Johns Hopkins U	Alvi, Eskander	W Michigan U
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Mass, U of	MacNeill, Allan	Webster U [NTG]
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Michigan, AnAr	Gross, John D.	Marquette U
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Michigan, U of	Zhu, Zhen	Oklahoma, U of
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Minnesota, U of	De Nicoló, Gianni	Brandeis U
Minnesota, U of	Krusell, Per	Rochester, U of
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MIT	Slaughter, Matthew	Dartmouth C
MIT	Snyder, Christopher	G Washington U
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N Illinois U	Ramaiah, Kirupakaran	Rochester Tech
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New York U	Hurley, Amy E.	Catholic U Amer
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Northwestern U	Connolly, Laura	Oregon S U
Northwestern U	Horvath, Michael T.K.	Stanford U
Northwestern U	Motomura, Akira	Barnard C
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Notre Dame, Uof	Sheehan, Maura	Queens Blfst,UK
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S Methodist U	Razzolini, Laura	Mississippi, U of
S Methodist U	Ross, Leola	E Carolina U
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Stanford U	Takeyama, Lisa	Amherst C
Stanford U	Weiman, David	CUNY, Queens
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UC, Berkeley	Feasel, Edward	G Washington U
UC, Berkeley	Hamilton, Jean	Occidental C
UC, Berkeley	Pendakur, Krishna	Simon Fraser,CAN
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UC, San Diego	Corradi, Valentina	Penn, U of
UC, San Diego	Osang, Thomas	S Methodist U
UC, San Diego	Picard, Marion	N Texas, U of
UC, San Diego	Sarin, Rajiv	Texas A&M U
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UC, San Diego	Werner, Megan	Florida, Gnsvl
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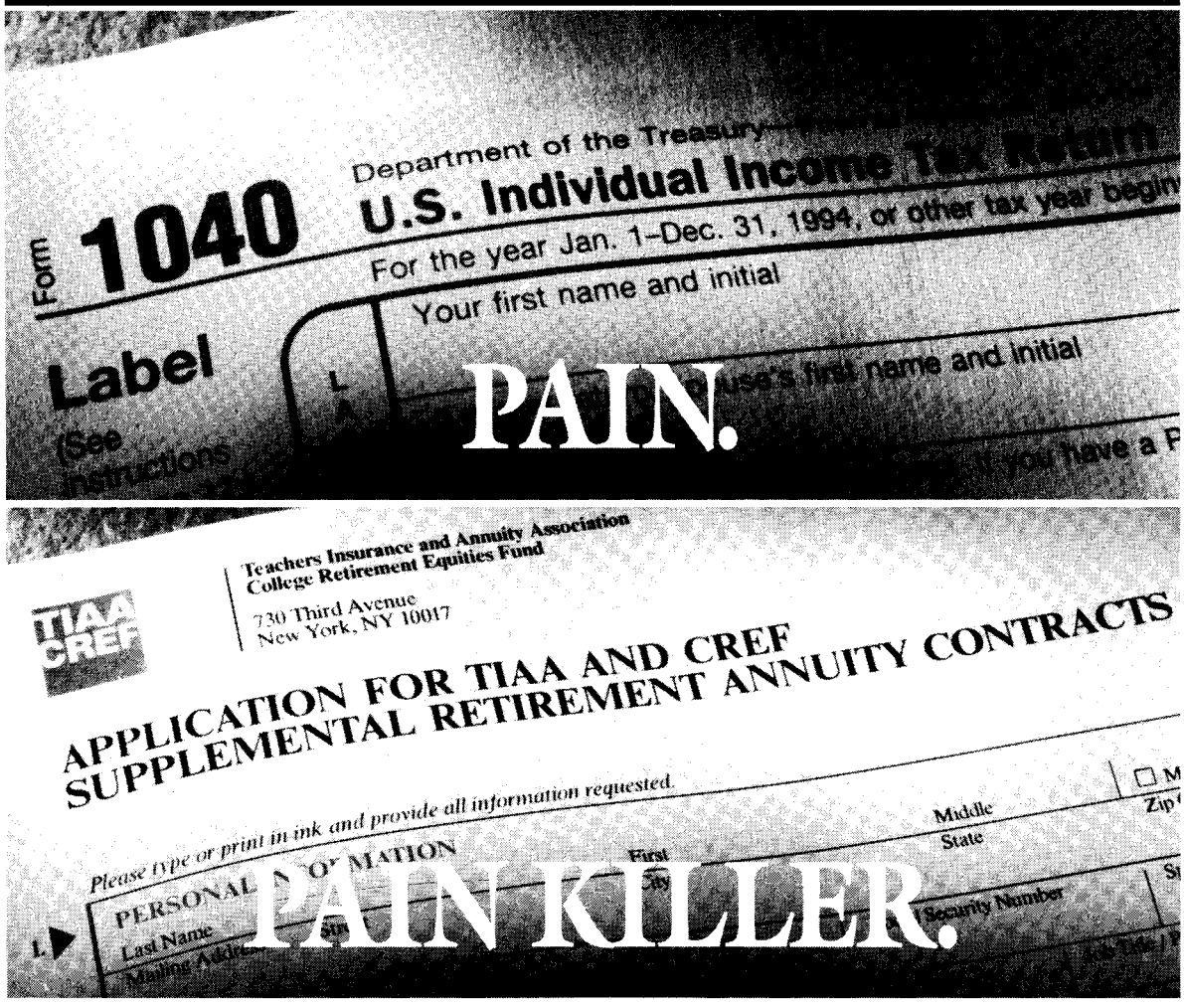

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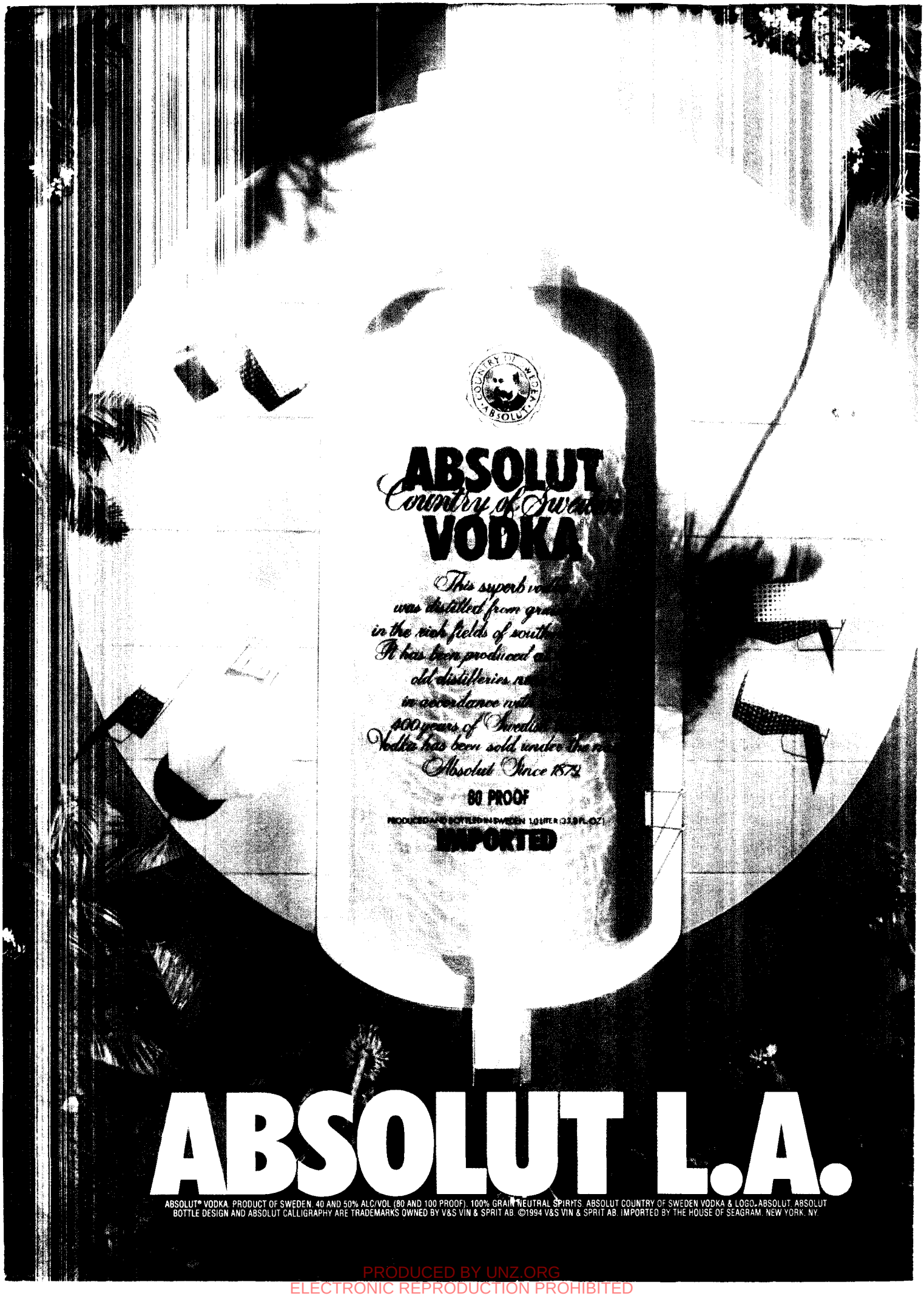

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